Daily Report

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General Denies Involvement in Arlin Antonov Case

AU1911181993 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian No. 45 8 Nov 93 p 18

[Interview with General Stoyan Andreev, recently dismissed presidential adviser on national security matters, by Mariana Svetoslavova; place and date not given: "People With the Moral Standards of Animals Are Populating the President's Office, According to General Andreev"]

[Text] [Svetoslavova] General Andreev, do you agree that the decree on your dismissal from the post of presidential adviser is expected to be signed soon?

[Andreev] The president did not tell me anything about it. Moreover, I never heard a criticial remark from him about my work.

[Svetoslavova] Rumor says that a conference was recently held at the Presidency to discuss a statement of yours, according to which you claimed to know so many things about the president's advisers that the whole state would explode if you should disclose them.

[Andreev] Actually, I said the following: "All those who are trying to link my name to the Arlin Antonov affair [recently dismissed intelligence service chief], namely members of parliament, presidential advisers, or journalists, are people with the moral standards of animals. I know the people who claim that I am involved in the aforementioned affair, and I know so much about them (which also applies to the presidential advisers among them), that if I should start talking, their reputations would be destroyed, but such revelations are also likely to affect our country's security.

[Svetoslavova] Nevertheless, it means that people in the President's Office have the moral standards of animals.

[Andreev] This statement of mine seems to have provoked some people's anger. But who could they be? Only people who feel guilty could take offense.

[Svetoslavova] Does the president consider your aforementioned statement as normal?

[Andreev] He did not comment on it. However, when people are trying to attribute the "Arlin Antonov case," which is a large-scale operation, to me, after I confirmed that I have distanced myself even in thought from the affair, and have nothing whatsoever to do with it, I am evidently the target of an attack whose only purpose is to affect my reputation.

[Svetosalvova] What do you mean by saying that you have "distanced yourself in thought"?

[Andreev] I did not even want to think about the case. I proposed to Arlin Antonov that he should go somewhere abroad as an ambassador, but he did not accept.

[Svetoslavova] Knowing that people with the moral standards of animals are occupying posts of crucial importance for the country, does this fact not disturb you? The interests of the state are evidently effected under the circumstances?

[Andreev] Yes, it is a cause of great personal distress for me. But I submitted the facts to the president. I feel reassured by the fact that I am not the only one to know about those people. I am not the only one to evaluate their actions in this manner. Numerous serious political forces and institutions are aware of them and are adopting coordinated measures so as to prevent them from pursuing the subversive activities that they sometimes take the liberty to exercise. I trust the president.

[Svetoslavova] You further claimed that the Presidency is full of spies.

[Andreev] Only a person with no manners whatsoever could say a thing like that. I am a professional officer, but people are accusing me of behaving like an uneducated peasant.

Deputy Land Forces Chief on Combat Training

AU1911210093 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Nov 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with Major General Anyu Angelov, deputy commander of Ground Forces, by Major Krasen Buchkov; place and date not given: "Problem Is How To Maintain Required Standards of Combat Training"]

[Excerpts] [Buchkov] How will the passing of the Defense and Armed Forces Act solve the problems of the Ground Forces?

[Angelov] The adoption of the law, together with the entry into force of the planned amendments to the General Military Conscription Act, will solve some of the Ground Forces' problems, but others will also crop up.

The act's new regulations regarding commissioned and noncommissioned officers' conditions of service will alleviate some of the tension and give them incentives to properly fulfill their functional obligations. The raising of servicemen's status will open up more attractive prospects for the officers and sergeants, leading to increases in their numbers and a better standard of candidate entering the military schools.

The problems that will arise are chiefly connected with reducing the period of military service for conscripts to 15 months. If this measure is introduced before the Defense and Armed Forces Act, which includes provisions for recruiting servicemen on contracts of service, becomes law, it will first and foremost hamper the individual training of specialists in the different branches and make it difficult to bring units up to strength. For this reason, I think that the reduction should be carried out in stages over a period of time, for

example, from the start of the New Year until the new intake arrives in March 1994. The simultaneous release of the old intake will have a negative effect on combat training. [passage omitted]

[Buchkov] Will the lack of funds and reductions in the numbers of exercises affect the troops' combat training?

[Angelov] The answer is unequivocal—it will have a negative effect, whatever unutilized reserves we are able to find and draw on. [passage omitted]

The problem we are encountering now is how to maintain combat training at the minimum required level. It is extremely difficult to find a solution. Quite naturally, it sometimes comes about that what is desirable is represented as actually existing. [passage omitted]

[Buchkov] Does training with simulators have any future in the ground troops, given that there is no money for maintenance and no up-to-date simulators? Are there any plans for modernization in this field?

[Angelov] Training with simulators is the fashion these days in rich armies and states. We are very far from attaining their standards. This is why, in my view, we should direct our efforts on developing theoretical studies on methods of simulator training and providing software for the needs of the future simulator-training centers. This will create the prerequisites, as and when the required money is provided, to ensure that the facilities are properly completed from the technical viewpoint. [passage omitted]

General on Deputies' Attitude to Military Doctrine

AU2211194893 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19 Nov 93 p 1

[Emil Mildov report: "Deputies Do Not Distinguish Between Military Doctrine and Concept of Developing Army, General Lyuben Petrov Thinks"]

[Text] On 17 November I briefed the National Assembly National Security Commission on the progress of the reform and the state of the Bulgarian Army, Army General Lyuben Petrov, commander of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, told reporters on 18 November. I briefed the deputies on the concept of developing the army until the year 2000. It includes the needs at times of both peace and war.

Gen. Petrov said that he was surprised to read in the newspapers that the deputies think that the military doctrine refers only to peacetime. On 18 November KONTINENT carried the opinion of Dimitur Yonchev, who holds a similar opinion. According to Gen. Petrov, some people have failed to understand him, do not grasp the issue, or are using political tricks, because the doctrine has not been discussed by the commission. It appears that some people cannot distinguish between the military doctrine, the concept on national security, and the concept on developing the army, the chief of the General Staff said.

He stressed that the concept on developing the Bulgarian Army had been worked out at the beginning of 1992. However, according to him, it was first necessary to develop a concept on national security, and on the basis of the priorities spelled out in this concept, to develop a military doctrine. Afterwards, on the basis of the national security doctrine and the military doctrine a law on the defense and the armed forces should be worked out, Gen. Petrov said. We began in a confused manner because a reformer appeared in the army who was in a hurry to reform it. It is good that we did not continue in the same manner, otherwise today there would be no Bulgarian Army, he said.

Deputy Dimitur Yonchev told KONTINENT that the military doctrine is one of the best factors in this sphere. He stressed that his negative assessment referred to the situation in the army and its structural reform.

FRY Embargo Seen as Factor in Greek Relations

AU2211160293 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Nov 93 p 6

[Commentary by Mariyana Boyadzhieva: "Papoulias Expresses Positive Feelings in Sofia and Inquires About Embargo"]

[Text] Certain commentators described as routine and unsurprising the visit by Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias to Sofia, which was part of his prolonged Balkan tour and lasted several hours. The Greek foreign ministers expressed the positive feelings of the Greeks and the ruling PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] Party for the Bulgarian people. Nevertheless, he noted with a certain nostalgia that during the previous tenure of his party, relations really were excellent, while, in recent years, one could see a certain stagnation. Papoulias' visit was a specific expression of economic bilateral cooperation. That was it. Nothing was said about the attitude toward Macedonia, nor that only Macedonia and Turkey were excluded from his Balkan shuttle. As the leader of Greek diplomacy stressed, this is an issue concerning Greece's bilateral relations with those countries, which should not affect relations with other neighboring countries.

Almost nothing was said about a future all-Balkan conference. The idea is obviously still being discussed. Observers with a better memory recalled that, in the past, Bulgaria also wanted to initiate such a Balkan meeting. However, the Bulgarian diplomacy irrevocably missed the opportunity and preferred to demonstrate greater activity in Europe and other continents. In this sense, our politicians and diplomats could learn something from their Greek colleagues, because the newly formed Greek Government first implemented contacts with the neighboring states.

The embargo issue was posed in a rather nontrivial manner. Greece considers itself affected just as much as Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine by the UN measures. It proposed to those countries to collectively seek compensations. Greece probably did so because it relies on its increasing authority and upcoming chairmanship of the Council of Europe, but also because it believes that it is much more difficult to stand alone against many countries and receive anything. The doubt in the effectiveness of the sharp measures is ever more frequently expressed. Papoulias openly stated that the objective result of the sanctions would be the misery of a nation and the strengthening of extremists' phenomena rather than finding a peaceful solution. In Sofia, at least, the impression prevails that the partners share the common opinion that the embargo is not fulfilling its role. Thus, this issue that has tormented the Bulgarian economy for years also has a direct influence on relations with the neighbors, and it was not by chance that the Greek foreign minister raised the issue during his visit.

Matinchev Briefs Wilton, Dahl on Embargo Losses

AU2211191893 Sofia BTA in English 1412 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev today met the resident representatives in Bulgaria of the World Bank, John Wilton, and of the IMF, Gregory Dahl, the government Press Office reported. The representatives of the two institutions were familiarized with Bulgaria's estimates of its losses resulting from the Yugoembargo. Mr. Matinchev proposed that a group of experts of the World Bank, the IMF and Bulgaria start work on a macroeconomic estimate of damage caused by the Yugoembargo. This is necessitated by a difference between the methods used by the international institutions estimating the losses, which leads to different results, the report says.

Mr. Dahl stressed that the IMF put Bulgaria's balance-of-payments losses at more than 400 million dollars in 1992 and at nearly the same amount in the first half of 1993. An IMF mission is expected to arrive here next week to finalize the estimates of Bulgaria's macroeconomic losses due to the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

Mr. Wilton said the World Bank and the IMF were ready to give Bulgaria technical assistance in the calculation of the cost of the embargo. The two institutions are well aware of the damage to Bulgaria as a result of the sanctions, he said. The World Bank will try to help this country get international assistance once the losses are finally specified.

Zhelev Comments on Foreign Policy, Domestic Issues

AU2011175093 Sofia BTA in English 2135 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 19 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev today invited a small group of international news analysts from certain mass media for a discussion of matters concerning Bulgaria's foreign policy, Radio Free Europe [RFE] reports.

As no BTA journalist was invited to the press conference, the national news agency summarizes the coverage broadcast by RFE.

Dr Zhelev noted that the democratic forces as well as the overall situation in Eastern Europe take credit for the changes in Bulgarian foreign policy over the last few years, which have been the deepest going ever. The Bulgarian president described as a "foreign policy gaffe" the still vacant posting of a Bulgarian ambassador in Moscow after two suitable candidates have declined this appointment at the last minute.

In Dr. Zhelev's view, Boris Yeltsin is the only political figure in Russia at present who can be supported, and this is precisely what the West and the CIS did. If this was not done, a civil war in Russia would have been inevitable, Dr. Zhelev said, adding that President Yeltsin took the only right action under the circumstances.

The Bulgarian head of state said this country stands quite realistic chances of gaining full NATO membership, insomuch as the North Atlantic Alliance is turning into a politico-military union and is changing its role as a collective security system. If a balance between the United States and Western and Eastern Europe within the framework of NATO is upset, the result will be a political turning back on the old continent, the president said, quoted by Radio Free Europe.

Dr Zhelev dismissed allegations that Bulgaria lacked a Balkan policy of its own. He voiced serious concern over the risk of destabilization of Macedonia, where developments could originate from the republic itself and Serbia could easily take advantage of them. In his view, it is precisely Macedonia which poses the gravest risk of a new conflict in the Balkans.

Dr. Zhelev described as "overbombastic" certain statements by the defence minister on Bulgaria's national security. The Bulgarian Army is ready to defend the country despite the difficulties, and even in these circumstances the army takes precedence in supplies. Apart from the institutions, the concept of national security should also be associated with economic and social relations, the president said. The country may be destabilized by the stalled reforms, and this represents the greatest potential danger. Controversies may come to a head on an ethnic basis, too. Ninety percent of the Turkish population is out of work. "What about the Gypsies?" Dr. Zhelev asked rhetorically.

At the end of his two-hour session with the press, Dr. Zhelev expressed his conviction that an alternative third political force will emerge in Bulgaria or, failing this, that parliament will turn into a destabilizing factor. In his view, the only reasonable option remains the restoration of the previous parliamentary majority which, through a

strong government, will give the land back to the people and will carry out privatization. The president doubts it that the reintroduction of the death penalty would help mitigate crime in Bulgaria, RFE reported.

Sofiyanski Cited on SDS Issues, Party Divisions

AU1911181793 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 16 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Stefan Sofiyanski, chairman of the United Christian Democratic Center, by Kalin Manolov; place and date not given: "The Leader of the Union of Democratic Forces Should Not Be Turned Into a Scapegoat"]

[Text] [Manolov] On the occasion of the session held by the leadership of the United Christian Democratic Center over the weekend [13,14 November], you proposed to the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] National Coordinating Council to discuss the coalition's 1993 activities and to analyze the SDS leadership's work. Is there a political context behind the reasons for your request?

[Sofiyanski] There is no political context, it was rather an organizational proposal. The coalition should find a better and more pragmatic formula of leadership, so as to submit a better alternative for the SDS leadership as a whole. We do not intend to seek personal responsibility from SDS leader Filip Dimitrov, because we should all assume our responsibilities.

[Manolov] In that case, what was your analysis covering the year 1993 all about?

[Sofiyanski] At the beginning of 1993 we noticed a natural exodus of the opportunistic SDS supporters, who were at our side as long as we were in power. Within the following five or six months we continued to loose influence, which shows that we could not find a proper way of persuading those who support our cause that we have an alternative. In this case we cannot blame the Communists. Decision-making within the National Coordinating Council should be prepared in advance, the debates preceding the options for the solution of a certain problem must take place outside the National Coordinating Council, so that it should not waste time with minor problems. The Coordinating Council should elect deputy chairmen in charge of dealing with specific problems, who should be responsible for those particular problems and propose alternative solutions on the issues, while the National Coordinating Council should adopt the final political decisions.

[Manolov] Does the fact that you propose to relieve Filip Dimitrov of some functions through the election of co-chairmen mean that you would like his replacement, as some rumors say?

[Sofiyanski] As far as I am concerned, I must admit that I am worried, and I shall frankly say that the moment may come, when, as a result of specific problems related to the coalition or stemming from the country's situation as a whole, the chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council may serve as a scapegoat. We should know precisely who is bearing what kind of responsibility. We cannot blame one man for everything, hence we should specify the tasks and prerogatives of an SDS leading staff.

[Manolov] Your center asked that contacts should be resumed with the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], while the SDS leaders were vehemently opposed to such a possibility.

[Sofiyanski] There is no official SDS stand on not conducting negotiations with the DPS. Should we decide not to negotiate with the DPS, we should issue a proper statement. We insist on immediate negotiations with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], with the monarchist organizations, with the trade unions, which applies both to the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] and to the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, and with all those who have declared their unmistakable anti-communist positions, in order to form an alliance against the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. For the time being the DPS is not in power, although it is boasting about its government mandate. It is the BSP that has been ruling the country since January 1993. We are all obliged to unite against its domination. We must invite the DPS to issue an unmistakable declaration that it is against the BSP rule.

[Manolov] Relations should be settled on the basis of a political agreement, as a matter of fact.

[Sofiyanski] Such an agreement is absolutely required in view of the future elections, so that we may not meet them unprepared. The chairmen of the SDS member-parties should come together and state clearly whether we want any elections, or not, and if we should be in favor of elections, we should jointly decide when they should take place. Only after doing so, can we try to provoke elections, for which two methods exist—an attack against the government or the disbanding of parliament. Both methods are operable, as long as an unmistakable consensus exists within the SDS.

[Manolov] Are your ideas likely to be discussed at today's National Coordinating Council session?

[Sofiyanski] Though I cannot force things to move, I shall submit my proposals for a broad discussion, without insisting on their prompt adoption, so that they may be well considered. Nevertheless, I shall insist strongly on deciding about official negotiations with other groups, which are now being conducted in the "dark," and which evokes mutual suspicions and distrust.

[Manolov] Can you tell me, whether two opposed camps exist within the SDS, to one of which you supposed to belong, together with the Democrats and the Radical Democrats, while the other consists of Ecoglasnost, the

Conservative Ecological Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Nikola Petkov BZNS?

[Sofiyanski] No, I do not seek a division of parties into opposed camps, because, in the majority of cases, we share the same ideas. Something is still missing, therefore we cannot find a module of working together, and hence, we are trying to prompt a fruitful discussion, likely to induce a solution of the problems that we discussed on so many occasions.

Financial Plight of Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Viewed

AU2211110893 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Nov 93 p 1

[Vesela Vaneva report: "Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant Switches Reactors Off"]

[Text] The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant will gradually begin to discontinue its functioning after 30 November because of the shortage of finances for vitally important activities and materials. TRUD learned of this shocking fact during the weekend, in the cold office of Kozma Kuzmanov, director of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. Already, the amount received from the National Electricity Company for the maintenance of the greatest producer of electric power in our country hardly covers the expenses related to maintaining the three small reactors that are functioning, and the workers' wages.

During the last operational check related to restarting the 1,000-megawatt Reactor Six, the highly qualified experts tried to find a way of saving means from the subsidies allocated for controlling the radioactivity in the plant's vicinity.

The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant does not have any finances and cannot pay the organizations that completed the hydro- and heating- isolation of Reactor Six, and the installations of the pumps and the antiseismic-protection devices. The restarting of this 1,000-megawatt reactor in December is doubtful. The nuclear power plant also has not received the means needed for restarting Reactor One, which was supposed to be restarted by 15 December.

According to Mr. Kuzmanov, if by mid-December the national power supply system remains without 1,440 megawatts from Reactors One and Six, every small accident at one of the Electric Power Plants would immediately cause a regime of electric power supply restrictions.

However, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant leadership noted signs that testify to an intention to introduce a more drastic script on savings at the plant. Against the background of the decreasing means provided by the National Electricity Company, the nuclear power plant will soon not have the necessary means for naphtha, mazut, and chemical agents that facilitate the functioning of Reactors Two, Three, and Four, which are active at present. The director of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant describes this situation as catastrophic and said that it could produce unforeseeable consequences.

Today, the directors of the National Electricity Company will discuss measures related to urgently allocating the 400 million leva needed by the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant by the end of the year. At the same meeting, Dyanko Dobrev, chief of the National Electricity Company intends to propose freezing the wages in the power supply system, including the nuclear power plant. Experts from the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, freezing on the plant's grounds, said that this step would produce chaos in their relations with the authorities, the outcome of which is absolutely unclear.

Baudys: 'Partnership for Peace' Precedes NATO

AU2211210093 Prague CTK in English 1927 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 21 (CTK)—The NATO member states and especially the United States are not convinced that a situation has come about where it is unanimously possible to decide on the extension of the alliance to include certain countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Defense Minister Antonin Baudys said today following his return from the United States.

During his five-day American stay the minister attended a conference on problems involving ethnic minority groups and their impact on American security. He also carried on informal discussions with U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin and other defense Department representatives. The main topic of discussion was the American-sponsored Partnership for Peace initiative.

Regarding the current state of affairs, Baudys called positive the possibility of Eastern and Central European countries signing cooperation treaties with individual NATO member countries under the plan. These treaties could differ depending on how dependable a partner each of the Eastern and Central European countries represents itself as.

Baudys stressed that it would not be possible to sign agreements without certainty, trustworthiness and reliability from the Eastern and Central European partners and without their ability to take on a share of responsibility, and were such countries only seeking to get a free defensive umbrella.

Under the framework of such treaties it was now possible to sign agreements on specific cooperation between defense ministries of Central and Eastern Europe and NATO countries and between their individual armies. This would actually speed up preparations for membership in NATO, the minister noted.

The minister also said that the United States considered measurements recorded by Czechoslovak anti-chemical units in the Persian Gulf dependable and was analyzing their sources.

Baudys stated that he had agreed with Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) Deputy Dennis Nagy that the instruments used for the testing, accompanied by a group of military experts, would soon be sent to the United States at that country's expense.

The minister also talked with Nagy about the possibility of further cooperation with the DIA. The United Nations has assigned the agency its intelligence activities, including those for UNPROFOR. Baudys said that this was of interest to the Czech Republic as it has soldiers stationed in the former Yugoslavia.

Nagy is to visit the Czech Republic in December and a cooperation agreement is to be signed, Baudys added.

The minister said that no discussion took place concerning the possibility of weapons purchases from U.S. military stocks in Europe.

We do not in principle expect the Czech Army be outfitting itself with second-hand merchandise, Baudys commented. Nonetheless, there exists the possibility of purchasing certain equipment, explained the minister, adding that the president of the Czech Republic would have to speak on the question because negotiations regarding it started before the breakup of Czechoslovakia.

Commentary on Joining, Cooperating With NATO

AU2211144093 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 18 Nov 93 p 3

[Josef Mlejnek commentary: "Diplomacy and the Army"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec delivered a speech at a gathering of high officers of the Czech Army on Tuesday [16 November]. It was logical that he spoke about an issue that has often been discussed recently—the attitude of our country toward NATO, and problems linked to the possible admission of the Czech Republic into this alliance. It is a well known fact, however, that our admission is not a very topical issue nowadays, mostly because of so-called geopolitical reasons. Russia, sticking to its neo- imperialist attitude, has adopted a clearly negative standpoint against the admission of the Central European countries into NATO, and the West is not interested in continuing the 40-year-long confrontation. Strategic studies and complicated diplomatic maneuvering have resulted in a proposal to establish a loose association with the post-communist countries and to cooperate with them in specific areas. However, the West does not want to exclude Moscow from this process. Even the greatest optimists call for restraint, and make no secret of the fact that the Central European countries will have to wait (for a long time) before they are admitted into the Alliance.

We must discard the rather naive idea that NATO would open its security umbrella just because we and NATO share the same values. Such ideas are not only unrealistic, but they have very dangerous overtones. It is an unfortunate Czech habit (which has its roots in the Munich crisis) to shift all the responsibility for the international security of our country on others. President Vaclav Havel entitled his article for THE NEW YORK TIMES (reprinted in LIDOVE NOVINY): "Why Should NATO Open Itself to Central Europe." The president's article for a popular U.S. daily must be understood as lobbying. It would be good if, from time to time, we asked ourselves how the Czech Republic (or other Central European counties) could become beneficial to NATO. It is likely that we would not find many areas in

which we could be beneficial—but it does not matter. What matters is our attitude and the way we think of security issues.

Of all the Czech politicians, it is the foreign minister who is the most realistic, at least as far as one of the most important aspects of the entire problem is concerned. Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec is constantly pointing to the fact that if we were a NATO member, we might be obliged to send our army to fight in a military conflict that would not apply to us. However, only in this case, we can demand guarantees from our allies. A well-armed and professional army is not enough if the most important thing is lacking: The will to protect, arms in hand, the sovereignty of the state. "Membership of the Alliance can only become a complement to our own security system based on our willingness and preparedness to defend ourselves," Josef Zieleniec wrote for MLADA FRONTA DNES. Unfortunately, in the history of the Czech statehood, we would find examples showing the contrary.

It is clear that, in view of its size and potential, the Czech Republic cannot base its security system on its strength alone. Regarding the security problems, we have to distinguish between various levels and planes. The domestic resources are always needed and indispensable, they are the first level of the abstract pyramid [sentence as published]. This is why the foreign minister speaks to groups of officers, and why we are interested in having a good- quality Czech Army. Only then, when the foundations are firm enough, we can expect that our diplomacy will bring positive results, or we may blame our diplomacy for having failed, as the case may be. It is characteristic of the Czechs that they like to blame the West, Europe, or diplomacy for their own failures. However, they should do it only if the domestic political representatives had done all their best at home and if they had fully used all their diplomatic capabilities.

The Czech Republic's possible joining of NATO will be a long term process. Any "guaranties" that can follow after the alliance's summit in January will certainly be partial guaranties, and not full-fledged ones. The fact that we should rely on our own forces, as Foreign Minister Zieleniec has stressed, is assuming a clear shape. If we can fully rely on our forces and if we cooperate, even partially, with NATO, our security will be sufficiently provided for.

Acting Israeli Defense Minister Visits

Promises Help for Army

AU2211183093 Prague CTK in English 1218 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 22 (CTK)—Israel bears in mind that Czechoslovakia helped establish the Israeli Army both in equipment and training, and it is ready to help transform the Czech Army, the acting Israeli Defense Minister Mordekhay Gur told journalists after talks with his Czech counterpart Antonin Baudys today.

According to Baudys, the Israeli Army is among the best in the world and it is possible to take over some of its experience. However, no specific conclusions on a possible cooperation resulted from today's talks, Baudys said.

Gur stressed that Israel was now busy with peace process in the Middle East. In spite of various troubles, Israel is strong enough to risk and continue the process which will bring peace to people in the Middle East, Gur said.

Gur arrived for a three-day official visit to the Czech Republic on Sunday. Israeli official Defense Minister is Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin.

Meets With Defense Committee

AU2211183293 Prague CTK in English 1344 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 22 (CTK)—The acting Israeli Defense Minister Mordekhay Gur and the Czech Republic share the view that a country's security must be based first from inside, and only then in alliances, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee Vladimir Suman told journalists today. Gur arrived for a three-day official visit to the Czech Republic on Sunday.

The committee's deputies and Gur also share the view that it would be very useful for the two countries if the visit became a starting point for specific cooperation between them, Suman said.

Asked by CTK whether cooperation, such as training of the troops, between the Czech and Israeli Armies was discussed, Suman answered that no particulars were formulated.

Minister Explains Bill on Military Equipment Trade

LD2211162893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said today that the Government has approved the text of paragraphs of a bill on trade with military material. The minister briefly characterized the bill as follows:

[Begin Dlouhy recording] Weapons of mass destruction, by which we mean nuclear, chemical, and biogical weapons, cannot be the subject of trade with military material. Trade with them therefore is completely out of the question. The bill defines individual kinds of military material and its categories. I wish to point out that within the understanding of the bill forming a part of military material are the relevant services and information. The sending and receiving of specialists for the purpose of research, development, design, and manufacture, as well as other activities that are connected with the use and manipulation of military material, is also included. [end recording]

Dlouhy on Guidelines for Arms Trade Applications

AU2211202093 Prague CTK in English 1742 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 22 (CTK)—The recent government-approved bill on arms trade bans the export of weapons of mass destruction, Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy told a press conference today.

The bill defines military materials and their categories, Dlouhy said, adding that his ministry would be responsible for the licensing policy. Successful applicants must be permanent Czech residents and have a clean criminal record, especially with regard to criminal convictions due to negligence. In addition, they must not have been secret police agents or collaborators at any time between February 25, 1945 and November 17, 1989, Dlouhy said.

The Ministry of Industry and Trade will be issuing licenses within 60 days from receiving comments from the Foreign and Defense Ministries and the Ministry of the Interior, he said, adding that in addition to this, specific licenses would be required for individual transactions, documenting the exported items and their final users. These licenses would themselves be screened by the Foreign and Defense Ministries and the Ministry of the Interior, Dlouhy said.

Failure to comply with the bill is subject to a fine of up to 5 million korunas ($170,000) for legal entities, and up to 30 million korunas ($1 million) if Czech interests are violated.

Arms dealers generally agree that countries at war, countries supporting terrorism and those failing to comply with the conditions for international security are to be avoided as recipients, Dlouhy said.

Saudi Arabia Possible Source of Nerve Gas in Gulf

AU2311111593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Nov 93 p 1

["km"-signed report: "Combat Gases in the Gulf Were Probably Tested by Saudi Arabia; When the Substances Were Detected, Wind Was Not Blowing from Iraq"]

[Text] Prague—The concentration of chemical substances measured by the Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit during the Gulf War was, with great probability, a consequence of tests carried out by units of allied Saudi Arabia. This was indirectly confirmed to MLADA FRONTA DNES yesterday by official army sources.

Defense Minister Antonin Baudys, who returned from the United States yesterday, said that the detected sarin and yperit could not have originated from chemical weapons depots bombarded in Iraq, as had been originally assumed. "The Americans are now examining other sources and they lead them in a certain direction," the minister stated. Though he did not provide any further details, he did mention that, at the time the Czechoslovak unit detected the presence of combat gases, the wind was not blowing from Iraq but from the opposite direction. According to a meteorological report that has until now been kept secret, the wind was blowing precisely from the direction of Saudi Arabia.

The minister confirmed that Czech chemical detectors would be shipped to the United States within the next few days. "It is not an expression of the Pentagon's distrust of our detectors. They simply want to become acquainted with the outstanding equipment that was able to measure such negligible quantities of poisonous substances in the Gulf," he said.

According to Baudys, the war against Iraq has now become a big problem for the Americans, in view of the numerous diseases that have befallen some war veterans. "This matter is now getting onto a different plane, however. We have made available to the Pentagon the entire documentation and U.S. experts in Prague have ascertained that the quality of the detectors and the professionalism of our soldiers are of a high standard," he said.

Minister Baudys discussed the detected values of nerve gas with Dennis Nagy, deputy director of the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, who, according to Baudys, expressed thanks for the readiness and forthcoming approach displayed by the Czech Republic in the whole matter.

Ukrainian Parliament Chairman Arrives in Prague

AU2211191693 Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 22 (CTK)—Chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine (parliament) Ivan Plyushch began his three-day official visit to the Czech Republic with a meeting with his Czech counterpart Milan Uhde.

The primary aim of the visit is to learn about economic reform in the Czech Republic, Plyushch said, to see if experiences from it can be applied in Ukraine.

While in Prague, Plyushch will also meet with President Vaclav Havel, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky, Defense Minister Antonin Baudys, and members of the Czech parliament.

He heads a delegation composed of Ukrainian parliamentary deputies, Economy Minister Roman Shpek, Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachenko, and Ukrainian National Bank Chairman Viktor Yushchenko.

This is the first official visit of Ukrainian officials to the Czech Republic since Ukraine gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991.

Falbr: Relations Within Tripartite Council 'Tense'

AU2211205693 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Jihlava, south Moravia, Nov 20 (CTK)—The trade unions have relatively narrow maneuvering space, as the government has support of 60 percent of Czech citizens, according to polls, Richard Falbr, president of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Union Associations (CSKOS), told CTK today before the opening of the CSKOS congress. At the congress, the CSKOS split into two independent organizations, the Czech and Slovak ones.

It is also thanks to trade unions that the government social policy is bearable, and linked to the process of social transformation, Falbr stated.

He said that recently the relations between trade unions, the government and employers (the three elements of the Council of Economic and Social Agreement—Tripartite) have been tense, as the role of the individual partners in the Tripartite Council is yet to be made clear. We have been blundering regarding the issue of social dialogue, Falbr stated. However, he said he believed that most of the differences will be removed and that the general agreement will be signed so that the tripartite can be preserved in 1994 as well.

This platform for social dialogue tripartite contributed significantly both to the maintenance of social peace and the success of the economic transformation in the Czech Republic, Falbr stressed.

He said he considers the ban on trade UNLO membership for the employees of state bodies to be a serious controversy. If such bill is approved, the trade unions will lodge a complaint against the Czech Government with international organizations, Falbr emphasized.

He said he expected the number of trade unions' members among the population to continually drop, from today's 60 percent to the final 30 percent approximately. Trade unions should strive to win real trade unionists, not only trade union members, Falbr underlined.

He recalled that already under the First Republic (1918-38) the trade unions were quite strong in Czech lands, making up some 40 percent of the total population. Under the communist regime (1948- 89), trade union membership was voluntarily obligatory it was not compulsory, but avoiding it was considered suspect by the communist—and it included 97 percent of Czechs. That is why decline had to be expected after the fall of the communist regime in late 1989, Falbr explained.

Some trade union associations, mainly those of bigger enterprises, mines, steel works, metallurgical plants etc., have remained strong, some are traditionally weak, above all those operating in the service sector, Falbr said.

The opinion rules in Slovakia that the Czech right-wing government's behavior is more social than that of the Slovak cabinet, which sees itself as the one with social feeling, CSKOS vice president and president of the Confederation of Slovak Trade Union Associations, Alojz Englis said at the congress.

The will and willingness of the executive power to keep to the agreements is limited not only by the society's economic situation, but also by insufficient skills of the executive's representatives, who are unable to adopt solutions, Englis said. That is why Slovak trade unionists choose the way of consulting representatives of the parliament and political parties about important legislation even before it is passed. This initiative has had a good response, although the trade unions do not always reach the direct effect, Englis added.

The trade unions' social prestige continues to be high in Slovakia, he stated. Some 80 percent of Slovak workers and employees are trade union members, he said.

At the close of his speech, Englis said he welcomed the signing of a cooperation agreement between the Czech and Slovak Trade Union Centers, which went independent after the CSKOS operation was terminated at the congress earlier today the agreement was signed by Englis and his Czech counterpart, the head of Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Union Associations, Vladimir Petrus, at the congress. The agreement includes the exchange of information, experiences from tripartite talks and settling crisis situations, which is of both moral and political importance, Englis said.

Slovak trade unionists will fulfill the ideas promoted by the CSKOS since its birth in March 1990, he concluded.

The congress was also addressed by Enzo Friso, secretary general of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (MOSO).

The struggle of Central and Eastern European countries for democracy will result in bitter disappointment and disillusion, Friso said. He pointed out that trade unionists' right had never been attacked with such intensity in the world.

People's fates are closely linked throughout the world, therefore trade unions have to promote the idea of mutual economic and social dependence, Friso underlined.

The insufficient development of the south and the troubles linked to the economic transformation in the Central and Eastern European countries have resulted in increasing unemployment in the north, Friso stressed. The free and democratic trade unions must turn into a tool to inspire a cultural and psychological revolution, he added.

The world attentively watched the peaceful split of Czechoslovakia, the road to which had been paved by CSKOS, Friso said.

He pointed out that MOSO fully backed the efforts of Czech trade unions to prevent threatening of the right of state employees to associate.

CSKOS Congress Decides on Transformation

AU2211205493 Prague CTK in English 1530 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Jihlava, south Moravia, Nov 20 (CTK)—At today's congress of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Union Associations (CSKOS), the delegates from 36 Czech and Moravian trade union associations and from 31 Slovak ones approved today CKOS's transformation into two independent national centers.

The delegates to the congress represented the Czech and Slovak republics' total of over 4.5 million trade unionists.

CSKOS was established on march 3, 1990, shortly after the fall of the totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia, as a free and democratic organization adhering to fundamental principles of human rights and freedoms, CSKOS president Richard Falbr said at the congress.

In 1990, CSKOS was admitted to the international confederation of free trade unions, where it represented the central and eastern European region. In 1991, it was given observer status in the European trade union confederation.

The split of Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1993, did not result in automatic division of the CSKOS, Falbr said. The joint Czech and Slovak platform, which lasted for almost one year after the two republics went independent, proved its importance. After today's division of CSKOS, the two newly independent organizations can profit from the foundations and friendly relations which were built up under CSKOS's existence, Falbr stated.

The main shortcoming in the CSKOS operation was the poor communication between the individual trade union associations, Falbr said. A satisfactory information system failed to be created and it was difficult to obtain approval of all CSKOS member associations to take specific steps. CSKOS's work was also continuously impaired by a certain egoism on the part of individual associations, Falbr concluded.

Green Party Leaves Liberal, Social Union

LD2211163293 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] The National Committee of the Green Party has decided to leave the Liberal and Social Union [LSU]. The Green Party will continue to share in the activity and work of the Club of LSU Deputies and in the activities of the Realistic Bloc, but only as an independent political entity.

Kovac Praises Talks on NATO, WEU With Kinkel

AU2211190693 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 18 Nov 93 p 10

["Transcript" of an interview given by President Michal Kovac to unidentified Radio Free Europe correspondent "during his visit to the FRG," from 14 to 16 November: "In That Case, I Will Approach Another Personality"]

[Text] During his visit to the FRG, President Michal Kovac granted an interview to Radio Free Europe. Today SMENA provides a transcript of it.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have had talks with FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker and Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel. Did you discuss with them Slovakia's interest in integration into NATO and the Western European Union and, if you did, how do these gentlemen approach this issue?

[Kovac] We have discussed in quite some detail the interest of the Slovak Republic in becoming integrated into the Western European Union and NATO. I was pleased to hear their position, from which it transpires that the FRG does not make any distinctions between individual countries of the Visegrad Four. Both the president and the minister of foreign affairs confirmed this to me. They assured the Slovak Republic and myself that Slovakia continues to enjoy their full support. I, on the other hand, assured them that the Slovak Republic realizes that it must implement a policy that demonstrates very significant attributes of stability, both internally and within the Central European region, and that all political entities, in and outside parliament, have in their programs a policy oriented toward the Slovak Republic's integration into West European political, economic, and security structures.

[Correspondent] How do you think that the conflict between the head of state, Michal Kovac, and the head of the privatization department will continue, and how do you think will it end?

[Kovac] I would not call it a conflict, but, rather, differences of opinion on who should be appointed Slovak minister of privatization. I would say that everyone reacts according to his character traits. This problem has been resolved by my nonappointment of the proposed candidate and the coalition partners will now have to agree on how to fill that position. I believe that, even if we conceded that this was a disputed issue, it has been resolved in a way that reinforces compliance with the Constitution and the law. I believe that this is a plus for Slovakia.

[Correspondent] Weeks before the parliamentary elections in neighboring Poland, it was obvious that they would be won by the communist left. President Walesa declared that he would be ready to appoint a representative of that party prime minister, should it win the elections. Even though early elections are not on the agenda in Slovakia right now, logically, the possibility is being discussed of the widest possible coalition [government], possibly without Vladimir Meciar's participation. Should the opposition agree to take such a step and pass a vote of no confidence in the prime minister, would you be ready to appoint someone as prime minister other than your former chief in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]?

[Kovac] It is not the president's readiness at issue here but, in fact, a rule. Should the opposition, or parliament, pass a vote of no confidence in the present prime minister, the obligation will arise from this for the president of the republic to approach another personality, one that will be capable of forming a new government. Yes, in that case I will be compelled to approach another personality.

[Correspondent] By refusing to appoint Ivan Lexa [as minister of privatization], you have won the sympathies of all the parliamentary parties, with the exception of the HZDS, as well as of the majority of the domestic and foreign press. In spite of that, Ivan Lexa has raised some serious charges against you. How will you react?

[Kovac] I have already reacted by writing a letter to the prime minister of the Slovak Republic, in which I draw his attention to the fact that Ivan Lexa may be making himself guilty of a certain transgression, namely, the defamation of the head of state. It is up to the court to assess this matter. First and foremost, I wanted to draw the prime minister's attention to the fact that this [the defaming of the head of state] lowers also the prime minister's prestige, which is why I asked him to draw the appropriate consequences from this. Otherwise, I do not intend to engage in any polemics with Mr. Lexa.

Deputies Criticize U.S. Human Rights Report

AU2211194293 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by B. Koren: "We Should Not Blame the Mirror for a Distorted Image"]

[Text] Bratislava—At a meeting of the National Council Foreign Committee (just before the National Council's meeting yesterday), its members reacted to the report called "Human Rights and Democratization in Slovakia."

This report was drafted by the U.S. Congress Commission for European Security and Cooperation (consisting of members of the Senate and the House of Representatives). The report is very critical of the respect for human rights and democratization in Slovakia. The issues most criticized are freedom of the press, minorities' rights, and the progress of privatization in Slovakia. The Foreign Ministry has adopted a stance on the report, and National Council Chairman Gasparovic discussed its content during his visit to the United States.

At the beginning of the Foreign Committee debate, Deputy Ivan Luptak (Movement For a Democratic Slovakia) commented: "If the Americans are always so superficial, then I am not surprised at the result of their attempt to free their hostages in Teheran." The majority of deputies expressed the opinion that a small group of deputies from several committees—and not only the Foreign Committee—should deal with it. The differences of opinion over the report can be demonstrated by the following two statements: Pal Csaky, Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement said: "Our movement believes that it is possible to agree with 90 percent of the report. If a mirror shows a distorted picture, then we should not blame the mirror." Deputy Ivan Luptak also said: "The report deals with old wives' tales and not our accomplishments."

The National Council Foreign Committee will deal with the report at its meeting today. The Foreign Committee deputies discussed and approved the government's proposals to send 15 military observers to two African countries, and to complete the Slovak UNPROFOR sapper battalion in former Yugoslavia with 181 soldiers.

Army To be Reduced by 35,000 Troops by 1998

AU2311120093 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 19 Nov 93 p 3

["dl"-signed report: "Very Few Reasons for Optimism"]

[Text] Bratislava—The new Military Academy in Liptovsky Mikulas is going to be the new military education center in the Slovak Republic. It has the prerequisites of room and technical equipment. The representatives of the Social Services Section at the Slovak Defense Ministry informed reporters about this at a news conference yesterday. At the same time, the reorganization of scientific research and military education in the Slovak Republic will continue.

After the partition of the republic, 11 military schools remained in the Slovak Republic, and their orientation did not always satisfy the conditions of building the Army of the Slovak Republic (ASR). Particularly the secondary military education [military high schools] will undergo major changes. It should be terminated altogether in 1997. The Slovak Defense Ministry Command has decided to maintain the four year course of study at the military secondary schools—but only for students who entered the school in 1993/1994. In the context of the rebuilding of the Slovak Army, the system of recruitment of professional soldiers is also to be changed. The conscripts, who have finished their compulsory service, may apply to become professional soldiers if they so wish. They will be trained for individual positions in 12- to 18-month courses in the form of post-matriculation studies [after high-school graduation]. The strength of the ASR is to be reduced to approximately 35,000 soldiers by 1998.

The reorganization should significantly affect the dislocation of professional soldiers throughout the ASR units. The objective is a minimization of their number. The reason is that the ASR currently does not have a sufficient number of apartments for soldiers in the Slovak units, not to speak about the soldiers who moved to Slovakia from the Czech Republic. Therefore, a housing agency was established that is authorized to purchase apartments for professional soldiers. A distressing situation arose also in military health care and in the scientific research basis. Despite the efforts of all interested parties, the assessment of the work of the Slovak Defense Ministry over the ten months of its existence is not a very optimistic one.

[Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 19 November on page 3, in a similar report under the headline "The Army Tightens Its Belt" adds: "Since the beginning of this year, a substantial part of secondary and university level military education moved to Liptovsky Mikulas. The M. Stefanik Air Force Academy in Kosice remains, and military high schools will temporarily operate in Presov, Martin, Zilina, Nitra, and Banska Bystrica."]

Parliament Chairman Believes Coalition Viable

AU2211202293 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 22 (CTK)—The government coalition between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) will continue to function, Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic (HZDS) told journalists today after a meeting of both parties' leaders.

Slovak Prime Minister and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar and SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak agreed last Thursday [18 November] to hold regular meetings every Monday. Today's meeting was the first one and according to Gasparovic such meetings will continue. According to well-informed sources, information about these meetings will be provided in turn by the HZDS and SNS.

On November 19, Meciar sharply blamed the SNS for making it possible, through the lack of voting discipline, for parliament to pass a no-confidence vote in Health Minister Viliam Sobona last week. Meciar pointed to a lack of unity within the SNS and appealed to its leaders to create order within the party.

The SNS is divided into two camps—members united around Vladimir Miskovsky and Anton Hrnko oppose cooperation with the HZDS and are not willing to be bound by coalition agreements while voting in Parliament. According to well-informed sources from the SNS, only half of the 14 SNS parliamentary deputies will support the coalition cabinet in which three top SNS officials hold ministerial offices. This would mean that Meciar would still not have a majority in the 150-member parliament—the goal which had led him to create the coalition. The HZDS has 66 seats in parliament.

Possible Coalition Without Meciar Considered

AU2211203093 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 19 Nov 93 p 1

[Commentary by Alena Melicharkova: "Is Pressure on the Privatization Seat Growing? Will 76 Deputies Again Be Found To Pass a Vote of No Confidence in the Government?"]

[Text] The passing of a no-confidence vote in Minister of Health Viliam Sobona, which was supported by 76 deputies, has made it clear that this was not just the decision of opposition deputies but also some coalition members. The idea could be heard in parliamentary lobbies that, when the implementation of parliament's resolutions by the Slovak Government comes to the vote in parliament next week, the same 76 deputies could, in the event of the cabinet's failure to submit credible arguments, decide to pass a vote of no confidence in the prime minister and, thereby, the entire government, as well.

This made yesterday's statements by leading representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] at their parties' regular news conferences highly interesting. KDH Deputy Chairman Mikulas Dzurinda said that the passing of the vote of no confidence in Viliam Sobona was the first major success for the opposition parties, both overt and covert. In conjunction with the approaching meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] on the implementation of parliament's resolutions by the government, we asked whether, should the government's arguments prove unconvincing, 76 deputies would again be found to pass a vote of no confidence in the government. "I believe that they will be found. It is only a question of time," Mikulas Dzurinda replied. Parliamentary arithmetics do not hold, however, as evidenced by the election of Ludovit Cernak to the post of NRSR deputy chairman when he also received votes from the opposition. Does this mean that the opposition was conducting talks with him? "The opposition is capable today of conducting talks with almost everyone," KDH Deputy Chairman Ivan Simko replied. Asked whether the KDH would join a broad coalition of all parliamentary parties, including the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], but without Vladimir Meciar, Ivan Simko said: "Yes, in certain critical situations—and we believe that Slovakia is in a critical situation—it is necessary for all political forces that are capable of working constructively to assume responsibility for the administration of public affairs and to prepare the transition toward new elections."

Only a few minutes later, the SNS convened a news conference on its own premises. Since the SNS is the HZDS's coalition partner, we turned our attention in that direction. "Would the SNS be willing to accept a broad coalition government in which all the parliamentary parties would be represented, but without Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar?," we asked. "I will give you only a partial reply. A broad coalition government and broad political consensus—that is the solution that the SNS assembly in Ruzomberok placed us under an obligation to seek. I am not going to sink to the level of personal evaluation. Yes, we are very much inclined toward broader cooperation among the political parties. In our opinion, the more heads are put together, the sooner it will be possible to deal with the economic problems. In other words, should the situation evolve in a way that will make the cooperation of several political parties necessary, we, for our part, will welcome this cooperation. My election to the post of NRSR deputy chairman, too, indicated that broader-based cooperation is possible," SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak replied. Thereafter, the focus of attention shifted to the question of filling the seat of minister of privatization. According to Ludovit Cernak, this issue will be the subject of the next coalition talks. We therefore asked whether these talks would be held prior to parliament's debate on the implementation of its resolutions by the Slovak Government. The SNS chairman replied that, according to an agreement, coalition talks are held regularly every Monday, which also applies to the next talks. After these talks, the coalition partners are to meet with the president of the Slovak Republic and, subsequently, also with representatives of parliament.

Spokesman: Hungarian Proposal Unacceptable

AU2311131093 Prague CTK in English 2016 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 22 (CTK)—The Hungarian proposal for a Slovak-Hungarian readmission agreement is unacceptable for Slovakia, Slovak Interior Ministry spokesman Peter Kuchar told CTK today.

Accepting the Hungarian proposal would mean that Slovakia would not be able to return to Hungary citizens of any country other than Hungary, Kuchar said.

The most recent talks on the readmission agreement were held November 17 in Bratislava. CTK was able to learn neither details about the talks nor whether they would continue before the end of the year. Slovakia has informed Hungary that it will be prepared to discuss new border crossings only after the readmission agreement is concluded. These disputes have resulted in the postponement of Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky's planned visit to Slovakia.

Egyutteles Comments on Provision

AU2211201693 Prague CTK in English 1629 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 22 (CTK)—Egyutteles (Coexistence), a Hungarian minority movement in the Slovak Republic, sees no reason why a provision providing for resolving the issue of minority rights should not be included in a basic Slovak-Hungarian treaty, spokeswoman Alzbeta Poganyova told CTK today.

She was commenting on a statement made by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in Debrecen over the weekend that Hungary would not conclude basic bilateral treaties with Slovakia and Romania unless fundamental rights for Hungarian national minorities in these countries were guaranteed.

Slovakia has many times declared its willingness to solve minority questions on the European level, so it would not be a problem, Poganyova said.

That Slovakia links the opening of a new border crossing to the conclusion of a readmission agreement is another proof that it is postponing solving specific problems, she said.

Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik and Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky agreed at a Central European Initiative Conference in Budapest over the weekend that Jeszenszky's official visit to Bratislava, scheduled for November, would be indefinitely postponed. Moravcik, explaining the decision, said that an official visit should be a step forward in mutual Slovak-Hungarian relations but not even a readmission agreement between the two countries has been concluded. The agreement would obligate the two countries to take back all their refugees who had been refused an asylum in Germany.

A new border crossing would have been opened during the Hungarian Foreign Minister's official visit, but the Slovak side conditioned its opening on signing a Slovak-Hungarian readmission agreement. Hungary considers this condition incorrect.

Prokes Responds To Jeszenszky Statement

LD2211192493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] When comparing the situation of minorities in individual countries, Slovakia ranks among the top European countries. Slovakia has tried since 1918 to accommodate minorities' demands regardless of the regime in power. This is something that Hungary cannot claim.

With these words Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Prokes responded to the statement made by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at a residents' forum in Debrecen on Sunday [21 November]. According to this statement, Hungary will not sign the treaty on fundamental relations with Slovakia and Romania until the Hungarians' basic minority rights are guaranteed in these countries.

Prokes went on to say that Jeszenszky assessed the minorities' conditions in other countries according to the situation in Hungary.

Opposition Consults Court Over Benefit Law

AU2211203693 Prague CTK in English 1814 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 20 (CTK)—35 Slovak deputies have turned to the Constitutional Court in an attempt to force Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to sign an amendment to a law on social benefits, Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and one of the deputies behind the action says in the opposition daily SME today.

Meciar refused to sign the amendment in February this year. The amendment would return child allowance and social benefit payments to their pre-1993 state.

Carnogursky says the move is supported not only by deputies from the KDH but also from the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH), the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) and the Alliance of Slovak Democrats (ADS).

Carnogursky says he does not know if Meciar really has taken the issue to the Constitutional Court himself, as he recently announced he would. The opposition deputies initiated proceedings regardless of Meciar's pronouncements, he says.

Reserves Allow Bank To Waive Restrictions

AU2211195693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Nov 93 p 2

["ip"-signed report: "Restrictions Abolished"]

[Text] Bratislava—The most important decision of yesterday's meeting of the Slovak National Bank [NBS] Banking Council was the abolition of the NBS's measures of 2 February 1993, which determined the course of action to be taken by commercial banks when transferring payments in foreign exchange to nonresident aliens. Reporters were informed about this decision at a news conference after the meeting. The measures, which brought about complications and delays in payments abroad, had been made necessary by the situation at that time and were a result of the currency split and the development and state of foreign exchange reserves. A certain role was also played by lack of clarity regarding relations with the IMF, the World Bank, and other international financial institutions and by the problematic acceptance of our commercial banks abroad. According to NBS Governor Vladimir Masar, these reasons have disappeared, which—along with the liberalization of commercial bank's access to the foreign exchange fixing—makes it possible to terminate the restrictive measures applied by the NBS against commercial banks. The NBS's foreign exchange reserves, excluding gold, amount to $480 million and the aggregate foreign exchange reserves of the banking sector, including gold, to $1.766 billion. Asked whether an increase in the foreign exchange allocation for physical persons was being prepared in Slovakia, similarly as in

the Czech Republic, Vladimir Masar replied that the Banking Council has not dealt with any such material thus far.

Two SNS Members Become Parliamentary Deputies

AU2211195293 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 18 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[TA SR report: "Sobona Recalled, Cernak Elected"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—[passage omitted] After taking the oath as laid down by the Constitution, Milan Janicina and Miroslav Rybansky, both from the Slovak National Party [SNS], became deputies in the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] yesterday. They both gained their parliamentary seats because Jozef Prokes and Marian Andel have become members of the government and cannot exercise their mandates as deputies. [passage omitted]

Elections in parliament continued with the vote on members of the NRSR Privatization Committee. Miroslav Kona (SNS), Zsolt Komlesy (Coexistence), Miroslav Pollak (Christian Democratic Movement), Igor Pribula (Club of Independent Deputies), Juraj Plesnik (Party of the Democratic Left), and Jan Michelko and Miroslav Micek (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) have become members of it. Peter Tomecek (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) was elected committee chairman. [passage omitted]

EBRD Takes Stake in Slovak Agricultural Bank

AU2211194493 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Nov 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "A Research Revealed Positive Aspects"]

[Text] Bratislava—Officials from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] and the Slovak Agricultural Bank (SPB) yesterday signed an agreement on EBRD's capital participation in SPB. This is the first direct capital participation of this bank in Slovakia. The EBRD's stake is 20 percent of the SPB's capital stock, which represents 160 million Slovak korunas. Before the EBRD decided to invest in SPB, it held many discussions and examined the structure of the SPB. The results have shown that the SPB, which is the first bank not owned by the state established since 1990, is a sound bank with good prospects. Apart from the direct financial participation, the EBRD will also provide training to the banking management and know-how.

Jeszenszky: No Treaties Without Minority Rights

AU2111164593 Prague CTK in English 1603 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Debrecen, Hungary, Nov 21 (CTK)—Hungary will not sign basic bilateral treaties with Slovakia or Romania until the basic rights of Hungarian ethnic minorities in those countries are guaranteed, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said over the weekend at a meeting with citizens here.

The minister said he regretted the fact that the spirit of solidarity had been weakened in the Central European region. Hatred of foreigners and racism in the region is directed mainly at Hungarians and Hungarian minorities, he stated.

Jeszenszky said he agreed with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, who said at a recent Central European Initiative foreign ministers meeting that the states of Central Europe must choose the same route taken by Western Europe following World War II and, in their mutual interest, set aside disputes.

The Hungarian foreign minister noted that if the Central European countries are unable, in a similar way, to overcome their differences and make mutual cooperation the centre of interest, the period in history where continuous wars on the continent were only occasionally interrupted by peace could repeat itself.

Jeszenszky emphasised that Hungary was striving to stabilise the Central European region, as well as all of Europe, and eliminate the borders dividing individual countries.

Asked about planned basic treaties with neighbouring states, the foreign minister said Hungary would not sign such documents with Romania and Slovakia as long as the fundamental minority rights of ethnic Hungarians are not guaranteed. He saw the borderless Europe emerging in the West as the real solution to Hungary in the future.

According to Jeszenszky, the community of Christian values linked Hungary to the West centuries ago, and "the genuine Hungarian road has always been that of Western Europe, followed by our great ones." [as received]

However, he noted with regret that solidarity was weakening in Central Europe. On this account, he quoted Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock as saying at the Debrecen CEI conference that East-Central European countries today need to choose the way which was covered by Western Europe after the Second World War. If they fail to set aside conflicts and cooperate, history might repeat itself when permanent war in the continent was only broken by shorter or longer peaceful periods.

On the south Slav crisis, Jeszenszky said even a bad peace is better than bloodshed. Citing the example of divided Cyprus, he supported all solutions likely to stop massacre.

Jeszenszky Urges Taking Western Development Road

AU2111175593 Budapest MTI in English 1704 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said the country's foreign policy was aimed at making life easier for Hungarians within and outside the borders, as well as for the majority nations of neighbouring countries.

Jeszenszky was speaking at a meeting with the local population of Debrecen, eastern Hungary, after the Central European Initiative (CEI) foreign ministers' conference on Saturday [20 November] evening.

New MTI Director Appointed for Three-Year Term

AU2311115893 Budapest MTI in English 1400 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 22 November (MTI)—On the proposal of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, President Arpad Goncz has appointed Karoly Alexa director-general of the Hungarian News Agency MTI for a three-year term, as of today, November 22.

The term of his predecessor, Otto Oltvanyi, 68, who has headed MTI for three years, expired on November 21.

Alexa was born in 1945. He graduated from Budapest University of Arts and Sciences as a teacher of Hungarian literature and history. He lectures in literature and education history at the university. Since 1978 Alexa has held senior editorial posts on several papers and, before being appointed to MTI, was editor-in-chief of the political and social weekly HETI MAGYARORSZAG.

Interior Ministry Accepts Konieczny's Resignation

LD2211152193 Warsaw PAP in English 1359 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 22 November—The Political Advisory Committee attached to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW) accepted on 22nd November the resignation of the head of the State Protection Office (UOP), Jerzy Konieczn and the appointment to this post of, up until now, Konieczny's deputy, Col Gromoslaw Czempinski, a PAP journalist has learned.

'Political Pressures' Denied

LD2311115893 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] There were no political pressures either on the part of the government coalition or the Belweder [President Walesa] with regard to the resignation of Jerzy Konieczny, head of the State Protection Office [UOP], Minister of Internal Affairs Andrzej Milczanowski has claimed. At a news conference held at the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Milczanowski said that President Walesa had been notified about Jerzy Konieczny tendering his resignation.

New Appointment Viewed

LD2211205293 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpts] The Political Advisory Committee attached to the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] has failed to produce an unequivocal stance with regard to the resignation of Jerzy Konieczny, the head of the State Protection Office [UOP]. Three members were in favour, three against the resignation, and two abstained.

However, the committee approved the candidacy of Gromoslaw Czempinski, which was proposed by Andrzej Milczanowski, to be the new head of the UOP. None of the committee members is against the candidacy of Lieutenant Gromoslaw Czempinski as the head of the UOP. Six are in favor and two abstained.

[Begin recording] [Jacek Merkel, Liberal Democratic Congress member of the committee] I happen to know this officer and I know that he is a professional of very high standing, one could even say an international one. I am sure that he will continue to run the UOP as initiated by Kozlowski, then Milczanowski and Konieczny; and Czempinski will be the fourth one.

[Petr Naimski, former UOP head] I do not think the fact that a man who becomes the head of the UOP and whose origins reach the former epoch actually contributes to the credibility of this institution. It proves that we are going back to the old order. [passage omitted, announcer giving background information]

[Michal Janiszewski, Confederation for an Independent Poland member of the Committee] From now on there will always be a temptation that, at the time of changes to the state political administration, there will be pressure to take over the UOP by a politician from the ruling coalition. [end recording]

Members of the committee claim that Jerzy Koniecz did not produce any specific reason for his resignation. He only claimed that he did everything he had planned in the UOP. He denied that his resignation is a result of any pressure from the premier or the Belweder.

The Political Advisory Committee attached to the head of the MSW was set up during Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet's term of office to monitor the activities of the MSW, which was then administered by Czeslaw Kiszczak. The committee consists of members from parties which had deputies in the former Parliament—from Solidarity, the Christian National Union, and the Liberals.

SLD's Siemiatkowski on Internal Affairs Issues

PM2211122793 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 4 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Zbigniew Siemiatkowski by correspondent Gustaw Graff; place, date not given]

[Text] [Graff] Are you not afraid that the coalition's agreement to cede control over—among others—the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] to the president will create a precedent that might be embarrassing for all future governments?

[Siemiatkowski] Let me correct one misunderstanding here: No one is talking about ceding control over the MSW. The president has only as much influence over "his" sectors as the Constitution allows him to have. The fact that Lech Walesa is entitled to voice his opinion on the ministerial candidates does not necessarily mean that these institutions and the persons who run them will find themselves outside the premier's control. Let me stress again that they are directly subordinate to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and it is the chairman of the Council of Ministers who will decide about the current policies that these institutions and their heads should pursue. Consequently, it is a misunderstanding to maintain that the government coalition has been ceding these sectors to the president. The coalition allows the president as much control as it is obliged to by the provisions of the "small Constitution."

[Graff] Should we expect significant personnel changes in the MSW?

[Siemiatkowski] This will, of course, depend on the policy followed by the interior affairs minister and from the proposals that he will submit to the government. In this case, the premier is entitled to nominate only candidates to the posts of vice ministers and heads of the State Protection Office [UOP]. All the other decisions will be made by the heads of the relevant ministries. The work of the Internal Affairs Ministry will be influenced by the relations between the premier and the internal affairs minister.

Another "safety fuse" in this situation is the Sejm Administration and Internal Affairs Commission which, in our opinion, should show increased activity and better legislative and monitoring initiatives in this Sejm's term of office. So far, it has not fulfilled these tasks in a satisfactory manner.

[Graff] After 1989 many people were forced to leave the MSW—especially its special services section—for reasons that were often other than substantive. Will some of them be able to return to their former posts in the Rakowiecka Street offices?

[Siemiatkowski] There will certainly be no obvious "reinstatement" action. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the specialists you are referring to ought to work in the intelligence and counterintelligence services rather than in private detective firms.

[Graff] Will the present Sejm see the return of the vetting practices [to determine public figures' past involvement with communist party]?

[Siemiatkowski] It is hard to say. The question could be brought back if a group of deputies bring it before the Sejm within the framework of a legislative initiative. We cannot exclude the possibility that even in the present Sejm there will be advocates of such a solution. In my own view, I do not believe that there is any need for parliament to continue work on the vetting bill.

[Graff] Many people would like to be able to read their MSW files. Is the government likely to open such an opportunity to them?

[Siemiatkowski] We do not think it will be required, although, just as in the case of the vetting bill, the initiative will reside with the deputies. Let me remind you that in the last Sejm a similar proposal was rejected.

[Graff] What is the origin of the concept of placing the UOP under the premier's control?

[Siemiatkowski] It is not a new concept. It came up before in discussions conducted by the SLD, the Polish Peasant Party, and the Union of Labor. In addition, Minister Milczanowski developed a similar idea. I must admit that it is rather embarrassing to see this question reappearing just at this moment. As a result of that bad timing the whole thing is regarded as the coalition's attempt to restrict the president's rights and competence. However, this matter must find its resolution through constitutional measures. In my opinion, it would be best and most sensible if a debate on this subject were to end with the conclusion that we must set up a system accommodating a chancellor's office—similar to the one in operation in the German Federal Republic.

[Graff] Does the government coalition allow for the possibility of using the police force and the MSW special services to control the possible public protest actions which could be expected to take place in the near future?

[Siemiatkowski] Everything will be handled according to the provisions of the law currently in force. We must not exclude the possibility of any kind of situation taking place. However, we certainly must exclude the possibility that the coalition and the government could conduct a dialogue with society with the use of the special services. Having said that, I must add that we cannot exclude the possibility of extreme situations in which we would need to resort to using special services, but this must be done lawfully.

Walesa Warns Against Departure From Reforms

LD2311123293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0100 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Report on an interview granted by President Lech Walesa to TYGODNIK PLOCKI by correspondent Zbigniew Buraczynski from Plock in central Poland; datenot given—recorded]

[Text] A departure from reforms would mean disaster and the degradation of Poland. We are at this very moment witnessing how the shape of Europe is changing. New democracies have emerged and the old ones are looking for new solutions for themselves. A breakdown of the reforms and political chaos together with the unsettling of the economy would result in the isolation of Poland. We would then lose our chance for normal development and proper integration with Europe. It is good, the president said, that the new government and party leaders declare their knowledge on these issues. It is a good sign, but one must know that this will be difficult, politically more difficult, precisely for these parties in the government than other parties. The pre-election declarations have put them in a difficult situation as far as their own electorate is concerned. You cannot cheat the economy. It is a known fact that many of these promises cannot be kept, Lech Walesa said to TYGODNIK PLOCKI.

There is the constant threat of temptation to experiment on the living fabric of the economy. This would be a dangerous game, and the costs may have to be borne by everyone. I believe, however, that common sense and thinking in terms of the state, rather than narrow, selfish interests will win, Lech Walesa said.

This was a portion of an interview granted by him to the TYGODNIK PLOCKI.

Pawlak Hopes Trade Unions Sign Social Agreement

LD2211191593 Warsaw PAP in English 1750 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak on Monday stressed the need for the signing of a social agreement with trade unions in which both sides would agree on "the parametres" of the government's social and economic policy for the next year. Pawlak, attending a meeting of the Council of the All-Poland

Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), said such agreement should be finalized by the end of this year.

The prime minister confirmed the necessity for the December 1 increase of energy prices, stressing that they will be lower than those forseen in the 1993 budget law approved by the previous parliament.

Bugaj Defends Union Absence From Coalition

PM2211152893 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 4 Nov 93 p 5

[Interview with Union of Labor Chairman Ryszard Bugaj by correspondent Henryk Sroczynski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sroczynski] Waldemar Pawlak has formed a new government. The Union of Labor does not figure in it. Do you not regret your absence from the coalition?

[Bugaj] Let us formulate this question in a different way: Was the Union of Labor indispensable in this government? The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] represent a large majority in the Sejm. Our presence in the coalition was not a necessary prerequisite for the government's formation. If we had joined the cabinet and the coalition, we would have been condemned to holding a weak position in them. Without the possibility to influence the government's decisions, we would still have a share in the responsibility for its work.

[Sroczynski] But was the question of convergent programs not more important here? There was a great deal of similarity between your programs.

[Bugaj] It is true that we did succeed in reaching agreement with out partners on many questions, but this referred only to more general issues. The SLD insisted that we sign a coalition agreement, but we knew that as soon as we came down to the level of specific problems there would be certain areas of disagreement. This is because significant differences of opinion between us became apparent in several spheres, mainly as regards the universal privatization program. In our opinion, the SLD intends to continue the program along the lines mapped out by [former privatization minister] Janusz Lewandowski. It is not by accident, either, that the Alliance holds Lewandowski in high esteem.

[Sroczynski] Apparently you also had reservations on the proposed government's personal composition.

[Bugaj] Yes, we did, and we do not deny it. We were particularly concerned about the nominations to the so-called political ministries. We regarded it as a matter of great importance that these sectors should be "manned" exclusively by people proposed by the coalition and that they could be relied on to maintain full loyalty to the government. I am, of course, thinking here of the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW], the Foreign Ministry [MSZ], and the National Defense Ministry [MON].

[Sroczynski] Was it not, by any chance, that all this served only as a smoke screen for your real motives? Was it not that, after all the years in which you criticized the government, you simply lacked the courage to show that you were also capable of working within a government?

[Bugaj] Sir, I had already had an opportunity to enter the government earlier and in different circumstances. If you are to enter a government, your motives should be more than the wish to hold a prominent position. You should have a firm conviction that you would be able to realize your particular program successfully. We did, of course, hesitate. I was not sure myself which decision would be better. However, in the end we gave in to the belief that we had insufficient chances for assuming joint responsibility for the government's work. Moreover, the whole question is certainly not to be considered in terms of being courageous enough, to refer to your formulation. This is a matter of thinking in terms of a realistic configuration of forces and interests.

[Sroczynski] And you preferred a different configuration of forces...

[Bugaj] I am convinced that the present coalition will run into a very difficult situation. I was in favor of promoting a coalition with the participation of the Democratic Union, even though it would have been very difficult to reach a compromise with the Union on questions of the economy. Nevertheless, the Democratic Union would have brought with it a most useful "dowry" to the coalition: the loyalty of the civil service officials whom it trained and promoted in recent years; a more positive attitude to the work ahead; a more favorable attitude to Poland on the part of foreign observers. These factors will now operate against the government. Still, we will support all sensible proposals from our Sejm benches rather than from ministerial chairs, and it should then become obvious to everyone that we will be defending the government itself rather than our own comfortable seats in it. We will be defending it for the sake of its positive work in Poland's interests.

[Sroczynski] In other words, you did not part in anger, did you?

[Bugaj] Not at all. Each side even agreed that we might some day return to these talks if our reservations prove unfounded. Nonetheless, as matters stand today, these reservations still stand. We even find that our fears are becoming more pronounced.

[Sroczynski] You have not mentioned the considerable diversity of views on this subject existing within your own party. After all, debates are still taking place on whether the Union of Labor leaders were right to decide as they did.

[Bugaj] There was considerable hesitation even among the leaders themselves. I gave way to it myself. Nevertheless, however paradoxical it may appear, the Union of Labor is still the most cohesive group in parliament. You can see for yourself what is happening in the Democratic

Union. Very noticeable cracks are beginning to appear in that edifice. There are also strong disagreements in the SLD. The PSL demonstrates, comparatively, the smallest degree of internal discord.

[Sroczynski] Do you not believe that the present coalition will soon have to face the difficult problem of somehow forging good relations with the Belweder [president's seat]?

[Bugaj] I am afraid that the coalition will tend to give way in all differences of opinion with the Belweder. This I find a matter of great concern. In my opinion, a situation in which we have the government on the one side and certain centers on the other side that are likely to dictate things to the government, or to force it to take a specific course, should never be allowed. Unfortunately, such an eventuality is beginning to take shape before our eyes.

[Sroczynski] So what is your forecast for the coalition?

[Bugaj] Provided that the SLD and the PSL practice good political insight and can bring themselves to overlook the small differences of political interest which divide them, they will stand a considerable chance of achieving success. On the other hand, if they restrict themselves to pursuing the realization of their particular material aspirations, they will lose. It is likely that in such a case they will lose something more than their own chances. Let me reiterate: Provided that they are careful and prudent, they stand a good chance. If that is the case, we will certainly support them.

[Sroczynski] Is it not true that the defeat of the present coalition would give you a chance to pursue your own chance and make your own bid for success?

[Bugaj] I do not know. But it certainly is not true what you assume, and what many Polish people assume with you, that the Union of Labor prefers to avoid the responsibility of working in a new government. When we discussed the possibility of forming a government configuration between the PSL, the Democratic Union, and the Union of Labor, which was our preferred option, we advocated it because we saw a position for ourselves in such a coalition—a position which would offer us a chance to work for our goals. We would have constituted an integral component in such a configuration. On the other hand, as I already explained, in the present coalition we would only have represented an additional element which would be insignificant and could be easily marginalized.

[Sroczynski] We have a new Sejm. How do you assess its first steps and its future chances?

[Bugaj] I believe that over the next weeks the new Sejm will begin most intensive activity. We should remember that the present parliament suffers slightly from being somewhat nonrepresentative, but this could be the price we have to pay for its increased efficiency and effectiveness. Already the fist steps that the Sejm made in the area of tidying up some parliamentary procedures were most positive. In my view, this provides a guarantee of its operational efficiency. Providing that the government proves to be an equally efficient partner, things should go well.

Foreign Ministry on WEU Membership Stance

LD2311111493 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] In connection with a meeting of the WEU [Western European Union] members states in Luxembourg the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] has issued a statement. Wladyslaw Klaczynski, the MSZ press and information department director said:

[Begin Klaczynski recording] The MSZ of the Polish Republic has issued a statement in which it points out with satisfaction that the ministers of foreign affairs of France and Germany have taken appropriate steps [concerning Poland's possible associate membership in the WEU], in accordance with the decisions of the joint declaration, which had been signed in Warsaw. However, one ought to say at the same time that the decisions made in Luxembourg cannot satisfy us fully. We expect that the principles of our associate membership in the WEU will be prepared as a matter of urgency. Also, these principles should meet the expectations of both Poland and other Visegrad group states.

Poland has declared her readiness to participate in discussions on this issue. We will present our own proposals to the WEU member states. [end recording]

European Local Government Charter Ratified

LD2211223593 Warsaw PAP in English 2146 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Strasbourg, Nov 22—Poland ratified on Monday the European Local Government Charter and signed a convention on transferring persons sentenced abroad to mother countries. Poland's permanent representative to the Council of Europe Jerzy Regulski presented relevant documents to its secretary-general Catherine Lalumiere.

The European Local Government Charter, to come into force in Poland as of January 1, 1994, lays down legal foundations for the work of local councils, defines concepts and the scope of their operation and enables administrative structures and resources to get adjusted to tasks of local authorities. The document, approved by the Council of Europe in 1985, has been ratified by sixteen European states (Poland is seventeenth) and signed by four states so far.

The convention on transferring convicts, signed by Poland, is the first multi-lateral treaty on the transfer of persons convicted abroad to their mother countries.

The main idea of the treaty is to facilitate prisoners, sentenced for crimes, to get re-socialized by enabling them to serve prison terms in their mother country. Both

the country where a person was sentenced and the country whose citizen he is can apply for his transfer. The procedure requires that the convict should agree to the transfer.

Statistical Office on Economic Trends

LD2211140193 Warsaw PAP in English 1338 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 22—There is no reason to predict any radical change in the stabilising trends noticeable for several months now in the Polish economy, Roman Sawinski, vice-president of the Central Statistical Office, told a press conference in Warsaw on Monday.

According to Sawinski, there are indications of some stabilisation in the labour market, of a weakening of the tempo of inflation, of increases in industrial and construction output, and of improvements in the profitability of livestock production. He did not believe that there were any indications in October of any radical changes in the Polish economy to negatively affect those trends.

Opposition Declaration Requests New Cabinet

AU2211165793 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 18 Nov 93 p 3

[Text of a "declaration" issued by opposition parties in Bucharest on 17 November]

[Text] Millions of Romania's citizens are currently living in circumstances of hopeless poverty and misery. Their concern about the future has turned into fear of the future.

The current rulers have not kept their promises: Prices are increasing at a dizzying pace, salaries do not cover expenditure, and social injustice is affecting an increasing number of people.

The sole political solution to overcome the current crisis is a change of government.

Any other artificial or propagandistic formula, such as [the setting up of] the so-called Consultative Council for Economic and Social Issues in the Presidency, would merely deceive the citizens, but fail to solve the crisis.

The parties belonging to the democratic opposition, which with their joint governmental pact are willing to share the responsibility, are prepared to carry out their duty to the country.

This means the setting up of a new government, which is able to bring back hope and also fulfill it, and achieve social peace in tranquility and stability, on the basis of a new national pact that is to be concluded with the trade unions as the legitimate representatives of all employees.

Signatories:

The Civic Alliance Party,

The Democratic Party

The Ecologist Party of Romania

The Liberal Party '93

The National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention

The National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party

The Social-Democratic Party of Romania

The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania

PNTCD Refuses To Form Coalition

AU2211190893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1832 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/11/1993—The Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [PNTCD] opines that the signing of the letter of intention by the International Monetary Fund [IMF] is essential for the furthering of the reform in Romania. "Otherwise," said PNTCD Spokesman Radu Vasile at a press conference, "(the IMF dissatisfaction) will be a negative signal for the whole financial-banking community." Vasile cautioned that the liberalization of the rate of exchange would lead to measures that could be reason for dissatisfaction, but added that "exceptional situations call for exceptional measures." Steps such as a lowering in taxation and in the exchange rate should have been used by the Vacaroiu Government since the beginning of its mandate.

Asked by journalists to say the point of view of the PNTCD on its participation in a would-be coalition government, Valentin Gabrielescu and Radu Vasile repeated that "the PNTCD policy is not conjectural," and it will therefore form a government only together with the parties in the Democratic Convention, on the basis of this alliance's programme. According to a prognosis by Vasile, the next government will have "the Party of Social Democracy in the forefront with possible elements from the Romanian National Unity Party."

Vacaroiu Reviews One Year of Activity

AU2211155493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1252 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/11/1993—Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu gave a news conference on November 22 to present the cabinet's report after one year in office and on the future actions for speeding up the process of passage to the market economy.

The government's main "accomplishment" in 1993 was, according to Vacaroiu, the stopping of the decline of material production. This means a material production at least at the level of 1992, Premier Vacaroiu said. "A basis has thus been created," he added, "and prospects exist for the year 1994 to be inaugurated with a 0.5-0.7 percent production extra as compared with the forecasts for 1993."

Premier Vacaroiu stressed in the opening the news conference that the government's activity was mainly focused on attaining the targets set under the government program and the strategy endorsed by parliament.

Outlining the shortcomings of the year 1993, the premier mentioned first the fact that the inflation failed to be controlled, reaching 220 percent by now, which greatly influenced the social protection programs. He assessed the year 1993 was "a difficult year" for Romania's population, consequent to such "unpopular" measures as the subsidy cut, the liberalization of retail mark-up, the application of the value-added tax, and the cutting down of the price rise notifying from 90 to 30 days. But, these measures, the premier made a point of stressing, were an objective necessity in the process of transition to a market economy.

As for the achievements of the government this year, Premier Vacaroiu mentioned, apart from stopping the decline of production, also the endorsement of measures that boosted the reform, restructuring, and transition.

He opined that the allegations that reform in Romania has been stopped were groundless. On the contrary, the actions that were taken actually carried the reform further. For, Vacaroiu said, reform does not mean privatization, only. Above all, production has to be stabilized, so as to allow society to unfold profitable activity.

"Romania cannot live isolated, especially in the current period of transition, when the world is facing an economic crisis, far more drastic in Western Europe," Premier Vacaroiu said. He therefore opined that Romania had to make bigger efforts that required bigger social costs in order to overcome the crisis. Social protection, he stressed, could only be ensured within the confines of the extant resources.

Premier Vacaroiu presented figures to illustrate the achievements and growth in some domains of the Romanian economy and in social life, rejecting the false allegations about the stage of autumn works in Romanian agriculture.

On taking over the government, Premier Vacaroiu recalled, there were no financial resources and stocks to live through the winter. It was expected that the government would fall soon. Scenarios followed that costed time. Besides, starting July 1992, Romania has not benefited from foreign financing. Presenting openly the reasons why foreign financing was desisted, Premier Vacaroiu said that the agreements signed with the World Bank, that were not applied in 1991 and 1992, imposed their application in 1993, which led to a higher rise in inflation rate in Romania. However, Vacaroiu concluded, "in spite of the situation of the economy when we took over the office and in spite of pessimistic forecasts about the duration of this office without foreign financing, positive results have been obtained, especially the stoppage of the industrial production decline and the keeping under control of the production stocks."

For the future, Premier Vacaroiu assessed that "everything depends on the way how we will manage to apply the steps being taken within the process of restructuring and privatization," which, he opined, had to be speeded up.

Vacaroiu on Inflation, Agriculture, Other Topics

AU2211202893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1834 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/11/1993—Premier Vacaroiu made a few points on Romania's economy at a Monday briefing. The rate of inflation, according to the premier, was the first among the minuses of his governing. Expected to grow by 70-80 percent, it will reach 230 percent at the end of 1993.

Unemployment stands at 9.2 percent of the working population, namely around one million people, which is not very bad, said Vacaroiu, if compared with Western economies. Workplaces were created in 1993, but most of them in the private sector.

A deficit of $615 million of the trade balance was reported over the first nine months of the current year, of which $150 million was the cost of imported first-grade wheat. The premier mentioned once again that the executive was thinking of ways to re-conquer foreign markets, lost either in consequence of the CEMA's [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] disbanding or because of an inefficient reorientation of exports. Ways are also sought for Romania to be paid by debtors, added Vacaroiu.

The premier reminded that agriculture was making no contribution to the state budget. He estimated that the taxes on agriculture incomes would total no more than 150 billion lei per year, while state subsidies for agriculture, working as an incentive for certain agriculture productions, were expected to continue to be of 800 billion lei yearly.

The pace of privatisation was not satisfactory, said the premier, who announced that it would be stepped up in 1994. Two thirds of the 6,600 commercial companies in which the state owns most of the capital are intended to be privatised in the first half of 1994.

Vacaroiu Blames Local Officials for Fuel Shortages

AU2211205893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1426 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/11/1993—Questioned about low home temperature and the shortage of water in many towns, Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu said the fuel reserves for this winter were much larger compared with last year's. The prime minister accused mayorships and public corporations of being negligent with home heating, of lack of responsibility. "The administration has decentralized, the government cannot handle directly these local issues. Its duty is to secure the financial resources for fuel reserves. The mayorships and the relevant public corporations are responsible for the good functioning of the heating system," Premier Vacaroiu said.

The premier pointed out similar carelessness with respect to the supply of water. The government allotted over 100 billion lei for this sector in 1993, Premier Vacaroiu said.

Referring to the alleged collapse of the Romanian aeronautics industry, the Romanian premier said the Romanian aircraft industry was not bankrupt and would recover due to some measures taken by the executive. Buyers have been found for ROMBAC airplanes and helicopters and some foreign loans raised by the relevant industry have been guaranteed by the state, the prime

minister said. "It is important to find new markets for the products of the aeronautics industry and especially to ensure the high quality of these products which are tasks within our reach if we consider the equipment of the relevant plants and the highly trained personnel working there."

Asked by a reporter about the current lack of legislative actions caused by the slow pace bills that are necessary for the transition period pass through Parliament, Prime Minister Vacaroiu said that over 100 bills were waiting debates. The premier considers that Parliament is the scene of a fight for power, which "eats out" the work time of the parliamentarians, as it happened with many days lost with the useless debates on the three motions of censure. Many bills are blocked for too much time in the specialized commissions of the Parliament, Premier Vacaroiu said.

The government will make firm demarches to Parliament for maximum urgency with respect to the set of bills required by the agreement with the International Monetary Fund, which Parliament must pass in this very session. Without these laws, Romania will not be able to continue reform, Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu said.

Participation in Ukrainian Mining Project Approved

AU2311115793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0820 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/11/1993—Romania's Senate approved in its Monday [22 November] session Romania's further participation in the works at the Krivoy Rog mining combine in Ukraine. In this regard, the Senate voted under an emergency procedure the draft law to be approved by the government as regards the necessary of financial resources.

One billion U.S. dollars are expected to be saved once with Romania's further taking part in the Ukrainian investment and an annual three million tonnes of iron ore for the Romanian industry is to be ensured on a period of ten years, according to a joint report elaborated by the Commission for Finance and Budget, and the Economic and Juridical Commission of the Senate, also expected to be ensured are firm orders of production for some 70 economic agents and some 100,000 employees in Romania on a period of two-to-three years.

Boban Says Izetbegovic 'Opted for War'

LD2211234193 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2230 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] This evening Mate Boban, president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, visited wounded soldiers from central Bosnia, currently recovering in the Zenit hotel in Neum. Warmly welcomed, President Boban answered a series of questions asked by soldiers from central Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Asked to define the borders of Herceg-Bosna, President Boban pointed out that the Croats were on their way to achieving their sovereignty in their republic of Herceg-Bosna. He said that a political solution would be sought for the war. If this is not the case, and bearing in mind that Izetbegovic has clearly opted for war, Croats from Herceg-Bosna will defend all their areas militarily, Boban said, adding:

[Begin Boban recording] Alija [Izetbegovic] has declared war on the Croats. He will not sign any agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina unless it becomes an Islamic state or unless, in agreement with the Serbs, it becomes a part of Yugoslavia. These are the only two options. As far as the borders are concerned, in wartime they are written with weapons, not with pencils. I think this answers your question. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Gen Mladic Reviews Current Scene, Prospects

LD2211211393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—General Ratko Mladic, commander of the general staff of the republic of Srpska army, said in Belgrade today that the key question for today's Europe is whether it will be "Germanized" or "Islamized." Neither of the two would be good. Europe has to belong to everybody and has to be European. In such a Europe there has to be a place for the Serbs too, who also have the right to "their part of the planet," Mladic stressed.

Gen. Mladic spoke about the development of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serb people's resistance, the aggression by the Croat-Muslim coalition, and the creation of the republic of Srpska army. He was warmly applauded by a full house at the Belgrade Sava Center, where he delivered his speech on the topical military situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He recalled that the war in the former Yugoslavia began with the secessionists' attack on the former Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia and Croatia, and that war was then declared on the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Muslim-Croat coalition. The Serb people, under attack, put up resistance and embarked on the defense of their territory and national rights, Mladic recalled.

He said that the republic of Srpska army had grown out of the people's resistance and that he had faced most problems during its creation in trying to suppress the formation and activities of different paramilitary units. He added that he had not formed "either the partisan or any other army" [as received] and noted that the Serb army in Bosnia had avoided the danger of internal division. "The most fortunate thing for us is that this time not a single Serb village fought against any other Serb village, not one Serb town against another," he added.

As for the prospects for the Serb people in the former Yugoslavia, Mladic said that they depend on "how united and unified the Serbs are and how willing we are to persist in our struggle."

"It is not up to the world to decide whether we will have our state and remain free but up to us ourselves," Mladic said.

He added that the republic of Srpska and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], from a military point of view, are a reality and that the world has put up with that, and that it will also have to put up with the Serb people, like other peoples, having its state.

Responding to questions, Mladic said that it is difficult to predict if a peaceful solution is now more certain in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. "Our enemies are well armed with modern weapons which they receive daily. On the other hand, as you can see, governments of certain states would, if they only could, cut off the supply of air to the Serbs as they did with heating gas," he said.

Mladic stressed that the army of the republic of Srpska and of the RSK does not have a single soldier or unit in another state. On the contrary, it does not even control all Serb territories, but Serbs are still being threatened by the international community.

However, Mladic believes that the situation has changed. The Croats have understood that they are a weapon in Germanic hands and the Muslims have understood the failure of their strategy to rely on the petrodollars with which Alija Izetbegovic wanted to "turn Bosnia-Herzegovina into his own backyard." The Muslims have also understood that their political and military coalition with the Croats was a mistake. In addition to this, both the Muslims and the Croats have overestimated their own forces and underestimated the Serbs, Mladic said.

The Croats have given up their initial goal—Greater Croatia—because they are aware that they cannot even reach Vares, not to mention the Drina, but now they want to take as big a chunk of Bosnia as they can to link it with Herzegovina and the Dalmatian hinterland because "rocks bear no fruit," Mladic said.

The commander of the main headquarters of the republic of Srpska army is of the opinion that the problem lies in the fact that they [Muslims and Croats] have mighty "sponsors," above all the bloc of Germanic states headed by Germany and some other Western

states, which have sketched out for themselves a breakthrough to the east and the tightening of their hold on oil sources.

As far as Bosnia is concerned, foreign powerbrokers are interested in strategic points for military control of regions, like Kupres, and the military industry in the Sarajevo valley, Visoko, and Bugojno. These sponsors prevented Alija Izetbegovic from signing the peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina at a moment when that signature could have ended the war, Mladic said in conclusion.

Further on Mladic's Comments

LD2311113393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1038 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Nov 23 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Army Commander General Ratko Mladic has said that the Bosnian Serb political leadership has so far made maximum concessions to the Moslems but will make no more.

If the Serbs agree to new territorial concessions, the West will continue blackmailing them, Gen. Mladic said in a lecture on the current military situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina held on Monday evening in Belgrade.

Commenting the European Union's (E.U.) offer that the Bosnian Serbs give up another three-four percent territories to the Bosnian Moslems in return for the gradual suspension of the U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Gen. Mladic said that this is a political, rather than a military question, but that "the Bosnian borders have been drawn in blood and that no-one in the Serb people has the mandate to erase this blood." [passage omitted]

Serb Assembly Leader on West's 'Political Trap'

LD2211172793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Jagodina, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Commenting on the first reports from Luxembourg for Radio Jagodina, Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the republic of Srpska Assembly, said that "this is yet another political trap by the West," the goal of which is to "get the Serbs to accuse each other over their plight, as we in the republic of Srpska allegedly do not want to give the Muslims 3.3 percent of the territory, thus prolonging the sanctions against our brothers in Yugoslavia."

According to Krajisnik, the real reason for prolonging the sanctions is not to achieve peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, "because peace between us and the Muslims and us and the Croats has been in place for a long time," but rather to exhaust the Serbian people until they are ready for submission and can be ushered into the new regional world order.

I am certain, Krajisnik added, that those who met in Luxembourg today were not there to make a decision on sanctions, and that the goal of the German proposal is not to help the Serbs; rather, it was directed against them," Krajisnik said.

Further on Krajisnik's Comments

LD2211204193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2003 GMT 22 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Banja Luka, Nov 22 (TANJUG)—Speaker of the Parliament of the Bosnian Serb Republic (S.R.) Momcilo Krajisnik stated on Monday that the German-French plan on the settlement of the crisis in ex-Yugoslavia was designed "once again to impudently deceive the Serbian people."

Germany and France at the European Union (E.U.) ministerial meeting in Luxembourg on Monday proposed the possible suspension of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y) if Bosnian Serbs ceded 3-4 per cent of territories to Moslems in the war-torn ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Krajisnik, in his statement to TANJUG, pointed out that "Moslem patrons want in this way to anathematize the Serbs ahead of elections in Serbia and the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), so that, thanks to an alleged rejection of the minor three per cent of territories on the part of the R.S., they could extend the sanctions against Serbia and the F.R.Y."

All this has been calculated at having fresh splits within the Serbian people and, especially, at raising the dilemma that the lifting of sanctions would depend on the 3-4 per cent of territories.

In May, 1992, the U.N. imposed comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on the F.R.Y. for its alleged involvement in the war between Bosnia-Herzegovina's Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

Parliamentary elections in Serbia, the federal unit of the F.R.Y., should be held on December 19, and one week earlier in the RSK, the state proclaimed in predominantly Serb-populated parts of Croatia when it forcibly seceded from the then Yugoslav Federation.

"Moslems and Croats go on with the war and no one even mentions them, while Serbs are not at war with either of them. They (the Serbs) only guard their border," said Krajisnik.

Krajisnik observed that E.U. members were well aware that the parliament of the Bosnian Serb Republic had with great difficulty and with extreme self-effacing accepted the plan made by international mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg. "It is for this reason that the international community, through its transmissions—Germany and France—does insist upon

fresh concessions so that the Serbs could be accused of a failure of the peace talks," Krajisnik maintains.

The Owen-Stoltenberg plan provides for Moslems' 30 per cent of Bosnia-Herzegovina's territory (instead of the 10-odd per cent they now control), Croats to remain at their 17 per cent, while Serbs should withdraw from more than 20 per cent of the 70 per cent they now possess.

Krajisnik said that the true reason for maintaining the sanctions against the F.R.Y. was not peace in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina because "between ourselves and the Moslems, or ourselves and the Croats has existed long before." The true reason, said he, was the exhausting of Serbian people down to submission and their induction into the new regional world order.

"I am certain that those who are sitting in Luxembourg are not those who decided on the abolition of sanctions, while the German proposal had not been aimed at helping the Serbs, instead, it had been aimed against them," said Krajisnik in conclusion.

Defense Minister Addresses Nation on Abdic, Serbs

AU2211215493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Address to the nation by Bosnia-Herzegovina Defense Minister Hamdija Hadzihasanovic on 22 November; place not given—read by announcer]

I am addressing all the citizens of our sovereign and internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and particularly the members of our Armed Forces. The unity of the army and the people and the unprecedented courage of the fighters have prevented the aggressor from inflicting the fate of Zvornik, Visegrad, or Kozarac on the free territories. You probably know that there are no Bosniaks left in these towns. The Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor has achieved a disgraceful record in the history of warfare. In the shortest of time, he has murdered—proportionally—the greatest number of people in the occupied territories, and has committed a number of other unspeakable crimes.

Since you managed to halt Milosevic's war machine and his cutthroats, they have turned to sowing seeds of discord and instigating armed conflict among the Bosniaks themselves. They have also activated the plan that was published in the Belgrade EPOHA magazine in 1991. Our people would not have laughed then at seeing the map that, within the so-called Serbian Krajina, had marked in—and I quote—the Bihac Cazin autonomous region, had they known that Fikret Abdic was personally placed in charge of that.

Abdic has dropped his mask, and now he travels openly to Belgrade and Zagreb, to those who are mercilessly destroying the Bosniaks, and gives interviews to the most infamous television station in the world, that in Pale. Both aggressors are trying to convince the victims of the aggression that Abdic can do everything, that he can deliver food and other goods through enemy lines, that he can start production in the factories, and that he can provide lasting peace and prosperity.

One should not, however, be deceived. Fikret Abdic was given the task of breaking up the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, and thus of facilitating the realization of the eternal Greater Serbian dream: the definite cleansing of Bosnia-Herzegovina of the non-Serb population. The peace offered by Abdic is a peace that today reigns in many Bosnia-Herzegovina cities, where the Bosniaks used to be in the majority. This is absolute peace, as all the Bosniaks have either been murdered or deported.

However, the Bihac Cazin Krajina is not the only one [words indistinct]. Many similar well-planned operations are under way on all the other free territories. The aggressor is taking advantage of the hardships suffered by all our citizens, which are the consequence of his criminal aggression. It sounds incredible, but it is the murderers with their bloodied hands that are now presenting themselves as the saviors in the belief that a hungry and long-suffering man will gladly accept the poisoned fruit offered him.

The Government of the sovereign and internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been accused by Abdic and both the aggressors of wanting to continue the war, earnestly seeks peace. However, the painful experience of this war is that justice is on the side of the strong and that only a strong state can protect all its citizens, and that is exactly what both the aggressors want to prevent.

It is enough to state the fact that 99 percent of all the victims fell in the first wave of the aggression, while the state was still unorganized, and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was still being formed. Today the aggressor is paying a high price for every killed soldier or civilian, and it cannot cope with that burden. That is why they label our most capable staff Islamic fundamentalists who allegedly do not want peace. By instigating autonomy, they want to divide our state and people into many little states which they can deal with later without any problems.

I want to say, too, that this government has no intention of creating a centralized state, but a decentralized one, in which all the regional advantages and developments would be respected. Let us not then allow the enemy to divide our suffering people bit by bit and then, when they are helpless, destroy them. Have the memories of the mass murders and deportations already faded away?

The aggressors claim that they want peace, but nothing has changed since the start of the aggression. The aims of the aggression have not been changed, and all the masters and executors of the crimes are still at large, except those of course who have been liquidated by our brave fighters.

Croats in Presidency Oppose Territorial Division

AU2211164993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Report by Senada Cumurovic on a news conference by the Croatian Peasants Party in Sarajevo on 22 November—recorded]

[Text] [Cumurovic] The Croatian Peasants Party [HSS] has issued a statement concerning the statement and interview given by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, on 14 and 18 November. The contents and the reasons for such a move were presented at the start of the news conference by [HSS Deputy Chairman] Ilija Simic, who said that the HSS was committed to a integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, a state of the three constituent nations. The party's view is that this statement and interview represented a certain U-turn, that is, a reduction of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina to a central Bosnian or Muslim republic.

Taking into account that the HSS represents the interests of a large number of the Bosnian Croats, who are against the policy of Mate Boban and Grude, [HSS Deputy Chairman] Zeljko Ivankovic spoke at today's news conference about the media in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or rather the Sarajevo media that, as he said, are critical and hawkish toward some nations, meaning that there was a simplified linking of nations to epithets such as chetnik and ustasha.

HSS Chairman Ivo Komsic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, commented on the view that Bosnia-Herzegovina can be preserved in two ways: by war—that is, by occupying the territories where the Muslims are in the majority—and by peace—that is, the superiority of the system in the future Bosnian republic. This is what Komsic said:+

[Komsic] First, this warns us that the policy of war will continue. This is what we do not want since we believe that the continuation of the war will only deepen the catastrophe which we are experiencing, and second, what we believe and assess as important is that the occupation of any territory indicates that the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be accepted, and could in such a form be definite.

[Cumurovic] That is why the HSS believes that we should approach the world with a clear concept of the solution to the crisis, which is to show that the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not a problem of a few percent of territory, but the problem is to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina within its territorial integrity, and to preserve the quality of the institutions of the system, particularly the parliament of the future union of republics.

Ivo Komsic announced at today's news conference a new initiative, which he will put forward together with Presidency member Stjepan Kljuic. According to this initiative, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency should demand a halt to hostilities. Since this cannot be achieved through an agreement among the warring sides, it should [word indistinct] by a resolution of the UN Security Council.

Bosnian Serbs Block Medical Evacuation

AU2311111393 Paris AFP in English 1045 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 23 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs blocking the medical evacuation of critically ill patients from Sarajevo say they are prepared to see some of them die rather than allow them to leave the besieged city, a UN official said Tuesday.

A 24-year-old Bosnian Serb with a serious chest wound from a sniper's bullet was among those who would die unless they were flown out of Sarajevo, said Peter Kessler, spokesman for the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

However, a Serb official at the Lukavica barracks in the Serb-held district of the city had told UNHCR that his side was prepared to see the man die rather than let the convoy pass, even though Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic personally approved the evacuation late Monday, said Kessler.

"(He said) 'let him die'," said Kessler, quoting the response of Serb liaison officer Milenko Indjic to his description of the man's medical condition.

Negotiations to secure the free passage of the convoy, which is due to take out 14 patients, including two children and three women, and 17 relatives, were still in progress. The wounded will be flown to Luxembourg, Norway, Italy and Belgium, added Kessler.

Nine Die From Cold, Malnutrition in Herceg-Bosna

LD2211174193 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The winter, which has arrived too early in the Croat enclave in central Bosnia, has unfortunately claimed its first victims, refugees from Vares. Due to the cold, inadequate accommodation, and malnutrition, nine people, two of them children, have died in Kiseljak so far.

Fear for the lives of some 50 civilians from the villages of Pogar, Borovica, and Dubostica in the Vares municipality, who have been encircled since the Muslim attack on the town, has proven to be justified. As we have already reported, the bodies of 13 civilians who had been shot dead were brought to Kiseljak a few days ago, and three more massacred bodies of civilians from Vares were given today to the Kiseljak commission for exchange of bodies.

'Hundreds of Chetniks' Killed in Teocak Offensive

AU2211205093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpts] The offensive against Teocak is in its third day. Artillery and infantry attacks are not abating. Over 5,000 shells landed on this town today, while another surface-to- surface missile was fired. In today's attacks, the Serbian aggressor suffered enormous losses as hundreds of chetniks died in the trenches of the brave Teocak defenders. Three [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Army fighters have been killed. A large concentration of enemy equipment and personnel has been registered in this region facing the entire defense line, but the defenders are firmly holding their positions and are ready for new and intensified attacks.

In the offensive operations on Teocak and the free territories of Zvornik, the Snjeznica hydroelectric power station found itself targeted by the Serb aggressor's artillery today. This power station has already been mined. That is why the command of the 2d Corps in Tuzla has issued a warning to the population in the occupied areas downstream from the dam to take the women, children, and elderly to higher ground. The explosive placed in the dam can be activated by the explosions of the shells. If that happens, the wave of water that would be created by the collapse of the dam would flood all the towns in that part of Semberija.

According to the 3d Corps press center, the offensive by the united forces of the Croatian Army and the HVO has continued against Gornji Vakuf. Supported by artillery, the HVO fighters attempted an infantry breakthrough but were set back to their initial positions by the Army units. Vitez also shook to the explosions of primitive explosive devices.

The chetniks are completing their preparations for a new offensive on Gorazde, Zepa, and Srebrenica, in which—according to the intelligence information—a helicopter assault [desant] is planned together with heavy artillery and infantry attacks. Today was marked in the Gorazde region by chetnik provocations, particularly from the direction of Foca, Rogatica, and Ustipraca. The convoy with food and medicine again failed to arrive in Gorazde, so the people there are appealing to the relevant authorities to help them avoid the repetition of last year's hard winter. [passage omitted]

The artillery of the Croatian Army and the HVO has been pounding Dreznica and Grabovica in the Jablanica region, particularly the Jablanica-Mostar road. This again confirms that the paramilitary formations of Boban's Herceg-Bosna do not respect any agreement on a cease-fire, including the latest one that was signed to allow humanitarian convoys through.

As for the Sarajevo front, the chetnik artillery was again heard after a quiet morning. The enemy from Nedjarici fired 60-mm mortars at Dobrinja. Missiles fired from portable launchers from the aggressor's positions in the airport district also landed on Dobrinja. Mortars from the Rajlovac barracks were fired at Brijesce, while during the day there was small-arms fire and antiaircraft weapons at the defense lines. According to the information from the 1st Corps, the enemy reduced artillery and infantry activities against the defense lines of the 1st Corps over the last week. What characterizes the enemy's activities are infrequent but sudden shellings, with constant sniper fire along the entire line. Convoys of vehicles and movement of tanks from Butilo to Reljevo have been spotted. The traffic in Lukavica has been significantly reduced, and our reconnaissance units spotted the movement of only one vehicle on 16 November. This hints at the lack of fuel. There have been reports of military exercises carried out in [word indistinct], with men staffing artillery. There has been a sudden increase of disputes in the region of Zabrdje among the aggressor's soldiers and the civilians.

According to the information obtained by the 1st Corps in talks with people who have recently been expelled from Vrace, a series of facts point at the conclusion that the morale of the aggressor's soldiers in this area, and probably wider, too, has sunk considerably. The general hardships, according to these people, has penetrated all the levels of the so-called Serb republic. Their army is the most dissatisfied, as it expected a greater reward and better treatment for all its feats. However, to judge by the current situation, it has been betrayed. Older soldiers, aged between 40 and 50, are on the front lines in Grbavica, Vrace, and Hrasno Hill, while there are hardly any younger men at all.

According to the same information, the bread in Visegrad is produced only for the army. There is no fuel whatsoever, so the town is completely cut off from the world. As for Foca, there is a mad scramble to auction business premises that have been left behind by the murdered or expelled Muslims. In Rogatica, for example, horse-carts have been used for months now to tow away the garbage.

Olovo Defenders Eliminate Two Tanks

AU2211155093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Report by Velid Djindo from Olovo]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The aggressor has engaged four corps—the Drina Corps, the Eastern Bosnian Corps, the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, and the Krajina Corps—which have been reinforced with HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units from Vares and Kakanj. However, all that military might and combat helicopters have not been enough to break down the steel Olovo-Vares citadel of defense, made up of fighters of the joint units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 2d, 3d, and 6th Corps, led by the heroic 1st Olovo Hill Brigade.

All the infantry attacks by the occupying forces have so far been repulsed, and considerable losses have been inflicted on them. Two tanks disappeared this morning

in flames, and just a few moments ago more news reached us from Baksici about new successes of the Olovo defenders. The Olovo heroes have just repelled an extremely fierce tank-infantry attack, destroyed two more tanks, and eliminated over 50 enemy soldiers. So in less than six hours, four of the 22 tanks that have been charging at the southern gates of Olovo and Vares have been destroyed.

Muslim Attacks Repelled in Gornji Vakuf, Vitez

LD2211185993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] A lull in the Gornji Vakuf area lasted until noon, when fierce infantry and artillery clashes resumed. Fighting is taking place on all parts of the front and it is particularly fierce around the village of Vrce, east of Gornji Vakuf.

According to the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] command in Vitez, the HVO has repelled Muslim attacks on its positions in hills between Fojnica and Kiseljak. Muslim forces have been trying to capture the positions for several days. Fighting was also registered around the village of Brestovsko between Kiseljak and Busovaca.

After several relatively quiet days, the battlefield in the Bobasi area near Vitez was reactivated. According to HVO military sources in Vitez, Muslim attacks on the village were repelled after three hours of fighting. According to the same source, Muslim forces fired 12 artillery shells filled with chlorine at the village of Rijeka near Vitez. [passage omitted]

Shelling of Olovo, Gornji Vakuf Continues

AU2311102093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian in its 0900 GMT newscast on 23 November reports combat activities in the following areas:

The correspondent from Olovo, Velid Djindo, reports that, in the Olovo area, "yesterday and during the night" "passed in stormy artillery and tank-infantry attacks of the united aggressor. Thousands of most destructive projectiles from over 20 heavy artillery arms and tanks showered incessantly on the first defense lines of the legendary Baktic-Krusevac area, Mutic area, and [word indistinct] area. The projectiles were also falling on the town and the nearby villages." Djindo further reports that "fearless fighters of the 1st Olovo Hill Brigade have repelled all these attacks, destroying four enemy tanks and killing over 50 enemy soldiers in the process. The units of the 2d, 3d, and 6th Corps of our army have fought exhausting battles in the Crna Rijeka area of the battlefield, where the aggressor's intense artillery-infantry attacks continue this morning." Djindo also reports that four Bosnian soldiers have been killed and 10 injured in the combat.

"Gornji Vakuf shall never be Uskoplje," an unidentified correspondent from the 3d Corps press center begins his dispatch from the area. "To adjoin it to Boban's Herceg-Bosna, the ustasha's have changed the name of Gornji Vakuf into Uskoplje. In accordance with this fascist ideology, they are now changing the appearance of this town with heavy artillery. This was the case yesterday and this morning. The united ustasha's troops continue to devastate the town with howitzers, mortars, and multiple rocket launchers, as well as the villages of Vrste, Bistrica, and (Duratbegov Dolac). The aggressor has again attempted a tank-infantry breakthrough toward the village of Vrste. The members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have resisted this attack."

The center also reports that "snow and ustashas are falling on the defense lines of Gornji Vakuf this morning. It is only the defense of this heroic town that will never fall." The report then states that "from the direction of the Catholic church in Vitez, the ustasha have been firing explosive projectiles at Stari Vitez."

Hajrudin Fermic reports from Maglaj that "an alarm was sounded in the town shortly before 0900 this morning as the criminals from the direction of Ljubatovici, at regular intervals, fired several howitzer shells" at the town center. He adds that one person died on that occasion.

Fighting Around Cazin Reported; Bihac 'Chaotic'

LD2211234593 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2230 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Clashes are still going on between the forces of the 5th Corps of the Muslim Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina loyal to Alija Izetbegovic and Fikret Abdic's units in the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

The village of Todorovo, 12 kilometers north of Cazin, has been completely devastated in the fighting. Alija's jihad warriors killed 30 civilians in this village. However, Velika Kladusa radio [from Abdic's stronghold] has announced that dozens of soldiers of the 5th Corps have remained in the deep snow of the battlefield.

The command of the forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia has announced that it is in control of all the strategic points around Cazin, and it is only a matter of time when Fikret Abdic's troops will march into that town.

The situation in Cazin, as well as Bihac, is chaotic. Arrests of autonomists, Abdic's supporters, continue. It was announced in Velika Kladusa that plans were being made to infiltrate a terrorist-sabotage group with the aim of arresting the president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

'Fierce Battles' Being Waged in Benkovac Region

AU2211160493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Report by Damir Kozul from Benkovac]

[Text] On the Benkovac-Brod front, the most sensitive point in the republic of Serbian Krajina, fierce battles are being waged today as well. At 1230, the Croatian Army began a combined artillery-tank attack on all Serbian Army positions in the western section of the Benkovac front. The largest number of shells have fallen on the hamlet of Pozderic, on Smiljcic, and on Biljani Gornji. There are still no data on casualties in the Serbian Army ranks. As I report, fierce attacks continue.

One should say that this is happening despite the fact that two agreements on a temporary cease-fire have been signed within the last 10 days.

U.S. Peace Envoy Talks With Security Chief

LD2211162293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the office for national security, today received Charles Redman, U.S. special envoy to negotiations on former Yugoslavia, who was accompanied by Peter Galbraith, the U.S. ambassador to our country.

They expressed concern over restrictions on the movement of humanitarian convoys in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Relevant bodies of the Republic of Croatia have been asked to exercise influence on the Croat authorities in Herceg-Bosna so that smooth passage of the convoys is secured.

Sarinic informed his guests about the plight of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the Muslims have been keeping them under occupation in some areas, thus threatening the Croats with annihilation.

Asked by Charles Redman and Peter Galbraith whether the resumption of negotiations with the Serbs is planned to take place after the Norway meeting, Sarinic said the negotiations are to be resumed soon. The priority is to open up roads, railway lines, oil pipelines, and power transmission lines between the Republic of Croatia and the so-called Yugoslavia. After that, Sarinic concluded, negotiations on the most sensitive political issues such as the position of the temporarily occupied areas in Croatia will take place.

Commentary: Tudjman's Policies Aided Serbian Expansion

AU2311123393 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 12-19 Nov 93 p 2

[Commentary by Mirko Sagolj: "Tudjman's Railroad Line"]

[Text] [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic has definitely played a trick on [Croatian President] Franjo Tudjman, his colleague from the "presidential palace," with whom he is connected by the joint plan on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Namely, on Friday work started on construction of the 70 km-long railroad line through Semberija and Posavina, which is to connect Bijeljina, Brcko, and Kozarac, and be joined to the line leading directly to the Adriatic coast. By the time Tudjman changes several of his new tailored suits, which he does often, Milosevic, [Goran] Hadzic [president of the republic of Serb Krajina], and Karadzic [president of the republic of Srpska] will have arrived in Benkovac. At least this is what Karadzic has told him by stating that the construction of this line would be completed in only six months.

If this event is not enough for the Croatian president to realize what he has achieved by sacrificing, surrendering, and selling Bosnian Posavina by trading with Milosevic at the expense of Bosnia, perhaps he will realize that the Serb leader is playing a double trick on him by constructing this railroad line when he hears that this line has been named "the five B's," after the towns that it will connect, which is its ultimate goal: Belgrade, Bijeljina, Brcko, Banja Luka, and Benkovac.

He may say what he will about why the former Yugoslavia disintegrated, blame it all on the Slovenes, and then on the Croats, as secessionists, he may ascribe the original sin to them, but the general development of events undoubtedly confirms the thesis that this Yugoslavia was broken down primarily in accordance with the plans for creating Greater Serbia. To be able to get to the borders drawn by Ilija Gracanin, Stevan Moljevic, and Draza Mihailovic [Serbian general during World War II] (Virovitica-Karlovac-Karlobag), Milosevic had to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina first. However, Bosnia could never be divided by political decisions, but only by force, by war, it can be torn apart on various maps and papers, but it can only be divided by arms, and that is why such a cruel and bloody war has broken out. In order for Bosnia to be divided on the basis of the old Serbian-Croatian agreement that Milosevic and Tudjman only verified with their signatures, the "Muslim issue" had to be solved first. The plan was, obviously, to kill some, to expel some, and to have the rest "sign that they are loyal," which means, to christen them. However, it is not easy to destroy a people.

Tudjman greedily swallowed the hook thrown by Milosevic. Blinded by his obsession that he has to be the one to restore the Croatian statehood, he was incapable of considering what bait he had taken. He gladly accepted the division of Bosnia, counting on getting part of it and annexing it to Croatia. Therefore, he was prepared to stir up dissension between the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina even back then, and to actualize his plans on their joint tragedy. As far as the individual fates of these two peoples are concerned, as well as their joint future, the results of Tudjman's policies are already certain: These two peoples are involved in such a feud that the possibility of living together in these areas again is at stake, which is the worst thing that could have happened to them; the possibility of defense against the Serbian aggression is highly uncertain, the position of the Muslim people has been brought to the edge of biological survival, and the strategic interests of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, except Boban's [president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna] few municipalities in western Herzegovina, have simply been sold.

These are the results of Tudjman's policies toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they are not final.

What can Tudjman's policy of dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina bring, and what does it mean to Croatia itself and to the Croat people as a whole?

It is impossible for a historian with great political ambitions, such as Tudjman, not to realize that the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a sovereign, independent, and unitary state within the present borders is a strategic interest not only of the Croatian people who consider Bosnia-Herzegovina their homeland, but also of the Croatian people as a whole. It is precisely Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a multinational state community, that represents the greatest, and perhaps the only safe obstacle to Serbian expansionism on the way to the borders determined by Milosevic's predecessors.

If Bosnia disappears as a state, if it is divided on a national basis, which Tudjman has persistently been fighting for, he should know that in the next stage of this same war the Serbs will emerge at the line, or a road connecting Virovitica, Karlovac, and Karlobag (or Benkovac, it does not matter).

The Serbs have achieved most of their goals in this stage of the war, thanks, to a great extent, to the help provided by Tudjman's policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Now they have started to prepare for the next, final stage of the war. The first concrete step is the construction of the railroad line that is supposed to connect Belgrade with Benkovac, which has been enabled by Tudjman himself, who has surrendered and sold Posavina to Milosevic. He dealt the first blow.

Serbia

Seselj Views Elections, Military Activities

AU2211121493 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13-14 Nov 93 pp 10-11

[Interview with Dr. Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, by Miroslav Mikuljanac and Cvijetin Milivojevic in Belgrade; date not given: "I Will Travel to The Hague With Milosevic"]

[Text] Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], has taken an unusual political road in the last three years. He has gone from being a person who was completely on the sidelines and an outsider prior to the 1990 elections, to being the leader of the strongest opposition party in 1993.

Many people think that he has gone full circle in this period and the results of the December election test will return him to anonymity. However, he does not think so, he proudly claims that only the SRS has seriously rocked the regime and expects that this "jolt" will end with the ruin of Slobodan Milosevic and the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS].

The conflict between the Radicals and the Socialists has closed all doors to Seselj in the state media. He is therefore conducting his election campaign in the small-scale and independent media thath he, of course, no longer calls "treacherous." He is a daily guest on local radio stations throughout Serbia and the questions that he is asked by the listeners encourage his belief—so he says—that the number of Radicals supporters has not dropped.

The interview with the SRS leader was conducted in the party's new premises in Francuska Street in Belgrade right next to the Greek Embassy. A part of the interview was attended in silence by Tomislav Nikolic, prime minister in the SRS shadow cabinet, the man who will take over leading the party if Vojislav Seselj is put in prison before the elections.

[BORBA] Part of the public thinks that you are already dead politically, that, after the conflict with the Socialists, your career has come to an end....

[Seselj] I feel exceptional, and if this is really how a dead person feels, then it is very nice to be dead. Many people thought in a similar way in 1990 when our party was outlawed, when I went to Padinska Skela [a prison] twice. The SRS resisted all attacks from the regime and became more homogeneous from the inside.

There were no arrests yesterday and today but people have begun to be dismissed from their jobs. Jorgovanka Tabakovic, certainly one of the best financial experts in Serbia, was dismissed from Pristina's "Beobanka" because she is the first candidate on the SRS's list of candidates.

[BORBA] What will you say to the men in raincoats if they come with orders to arrest you?

[Seselj] I will say: I was expecting you. I am ready. I will go.

[BORBA] Who could be the ones who would possibly come for you: the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the State Security Service [SDB]...?

[Seselj] The SDB of course, because the Counter-Intelligence Service does not dare make arrests according to the law, even though anything is possible among them. The SDB is one of the options that they are counting on; another is banning the SRS, and they have now started arresting, abusing, and beating up our members in order to anger us enough so that we will go out onto the streets to demonstrate. Then, if we were to go to these street demonstrations—such a plan has been formulated and we have discovered this—then they would infiltrate agents provocateurs who would cause shootings and bloodshed, which would be attributed to the Radicals and which would be the justification for banning the party. We have been forewarned of this...

Elections Under a Question Mark

I am otherwise very skeptical that any elections will be held at all because the Socialists have nothing to gain from them, even though they have manipulated certain public opinion agencies—"Partner," for example, which predicts 137 deputies places for them?! These 137 deputies places are what the Socialists have assigned to themselves, which they will endeavor to achieve at any price through various abuses, thefts, and similar such things if the elections are actually held. However, they have the increasingly obvious option of imposing a state of emergency and scrapping the elections.

[BORBA] Have you prepared yourself for possibly leading the party from prison?

[Seselj] I do not have to lead them from prison, because the SRS has firm leadership. We have already worked out a roster in the party for those who will lead the party when the leaders are being arrested. I can tell you the first four names: If they arrest me the party will be led by Tomislav Nikolic, if he is arrested the SRS will be led by Dragan Todorovic, and if Todorovic is arrested the party will be led by Maja Gojkovic. If she is arrested, there is a whole string of people who will take over the party, and everything has been agreed in the highest party leadership.

[BORBA] Of the services that we mentioned—the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the SDB, and the Counter-Intelligence Service—which do you think is closest to the Socialist Party?

[Seselj] They are all very close to the SPS. They are all instruments of the SPS. Our police force is completely ideological and partisan. The main task for the police in Serbia at the moment is to secure the victory of the

Socialists at the elections. All the activities of the security service of the Army of Yugoslavia are subordinate to this. After all, even cadre policy there has been conducted for a long time by [then Minister of Internal Affairs of Serbia] Radmilo Bogdanovic, while Aleksandar Dimitrijevic is his personal choice because Bogdanovic is a long-time friend of Dimitrijevic's father.

[BORBA] One of the SPS's main accusations against you has been that you organized paramilitary formations. Now, though, the former SRS vice president has claimed, although in another context, that the state organized volunteer units....

[Seselj] Of course. What was our role in all this? We gathered together people, above all our members, brought them to Belgrade, took them to Bubanj Potok, where they were given uniforms and weapons, then buses came there and they were taken to the battlefield. They were once transported by planes, to Udbina or Banja Luka, for example. I went by helicopter to the battlefield on several occasions to visit the volunteers.

[BORBA] From today's perspective, the organization of volunteers seems to have been an unpermitted "anti-Serbian" activity.

[Seselj] The Socialists are now beginning to say that because their authority has been undermined. You will remember that we have never supported the SPS except in questions of patriotism and national policy. We have constantly criticized all their legal projects, when it was simply boring for representatives of the other opposition parties to sit in the chamber. However, the SPS was then a patriotic party, it was fighting for the liberation of the Serbian people, and on that question there was a certain link between us, but only one link. However, when they started a defeatist policy at the beginning of the year, there was no longer any reason for us to tolerate them being in power. The whole of this year has been filled with our quarrels.

[BORBA] Throughout the summer there was a quarrel between you and Milosevic over General Panic, who the president of Serbia personally defended.

[Seselj] Panic had Milosevic in the palm of his hand for some reason. Everything that happened in the war is Milosevic's fault, like, for example, the evacuation from western Slavonia and some other things—Zivota Panic knew who gave the order for the army to withdraw from western Slavonia.

[BORBA] Milosevic?

[Seselj] Of course. Panic knew everything.... The report by the state commission has not yet been adopted. One report was submitted and confirmed all our claims, but Milosevic returned it to be "completed." However, since Milosevic was still "fragile" because of the Vance-Owen plan—because of which he "had to eat his words" as the saying goes, because it was established that this plan was bluffing from the West—he agreed to replace Panic, but in a package with 40 generals. In September, Milosevic tried to bring down Radovan Karadzic [leader of the Bosnian Serbs], which we revealed. We did not mention Milosevic's name at that point because it was too early, but when we say the SK-PJ [League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia], in which the main role is played by his wife, when we say the SPS and Radmilo Bogdanovic, who is the regime's gray eminence in Serbia, and when we say the SDB—we only have to sketch in Milosevic to see that he stood behind everything. We have hit them the most in this respect. Then there was our shadow government, which scared them a lot, and the initiative for bringing down [Serbian Prime Minister Nikola] Sainovic. No one in the media, not even your newspaper, believed that we wanted to bring down Sainovic. We were serious, unlike some other opposition politicians, and we did not immediately launch a "gung-ho" attack. The debate on confidence in the government showed that we had completely discredited them politically.

[BORBA] Could [former Yugoslav President Dobrica] Cosic now, however, be a trump card for the opposition?

[Seselj] No. With the help of Cosic, Milosevic could now much more easily ban the SRS and completely exclude us from political life because, in the West, Cosic had the reputation of being a man who was prepared to give in, cooperate, capitulate, almost.... This way, a ban on us would not be accepted by the DSS [the Democratic Party of Serbia] and the DS [Democratic Party] or by the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] because this would also be a Damoclean sword over their heads. This was similar to when we did not dare allow the SPO to be banned in July, when the Socialists started this. We immediately said: That cannot be done, there is a principle of individual responsibility in all modern societies.

The Truth About War Profiteers

[BORBA] Your claim that you "defended the SPO" at that point is a good headline for the recent sentimental statement by Vuk Draskovic [leader of the SPO] that he was sorry that the "regime had used you and then threw you out like an old rag"....

[Seselj] That is funny. Who has used whom here? First, who is now the stronger? Milosevic or me—Milosevic is on the verge of collapse! The SPS or the SRS—I am convinced that it is the SRS! Who used whom? Only we have undermined the authority of the Socialists, but everything that Vuk has done he has done for their benefit. Since 1990 all his actions have strengthened Milosevic's power.

[BORBA] Several years ago you were in conflict with [Zeljko Raznjatovic] Arkan, then these relations were restored....

[Seselj] Yes. He came to our party on two occasions. We have never had any special relations. Arkan has been a very brave fighter in this war and fought for the Serbian people—no one can deny that. But that is one side of the

coin. However, his unit was under the direct control of the police, and the training center in Erdut was set up by Radovan Stojcic "Badza," the current deputy minister for internal affairs in Serbia, but Arkan only served as a cover. The silo in Brsadin, one of the Ustashas' firmest strongholds was taken by Badza and his people and then Arkan came running in, had himself photographed, and took the credit for it. He therefore served for such things. Second, the police used tugboats to remove the huge war spoils from the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] and the republic of Srpska. Arkan also took part in this. It happened that some of our volunteers took some things too, but we did not take anything in a systematic way.

[BORBA] What measures have you taken against members of the SRS who you have established were involved in war crimes?

[Seselj] We have thrown them out. For example, that Zuco who was one of our volunteers in Slavonia until 21 September when we caught him during a robbery and expelled him. After that under the auspices of the police, he set up the "Yellow Ants" group that plundered, kidnapped, and did various other things in the Zvornik area. The police force of the army of the republic of Srpska arrested them and took them to Bijeljina prison. We immediately supported the arrest of these 36 criminals and only that psychopath Sinisa Vucinic defended them. However, Bora Jovic personally and the Ministry of Internal Affairs intervened to ensure that they were released from prison without trial. Zuco and his brother have now been arrested in Belgrade.

[BORBA] How do you view the future role of the Party of Serbian Unity?

[Seselj] Arkan's party was set up by Radmilo Bogdanovic and its aim is to attract some nationalist votes at these elections in order to then, after all that, spill over into the Socialist camp, if the Socialists themselves do not win a parliamentary majority. Arkan attracts many show-business names to his party and, on the basis of who he attracts, we can draw a conclusion about who he has been blackmailing all these months and years. For example, Dzej first of all accused him of killing his relative Iso Ler and Arkan responded with threats, then they had a talk and Dzej was scared and publicly said that he was convinced that Arkan had nothing to do with Ler's death. In the meantime, Arkan appeared as the coproducer of Dzej's records, which he had actually used to blackmail him.

[BORBA] Do you have any more concrete examples of "rackets"?

[Seselj] Mirko Vujicic spoke in the Assembly of Serbia about the "racketeers of the racketeers." What does that mean? There is someone above Arkan who benefits from the "rackets" and that is Radmilo Bogdanovic and the regime. This is why Arkan is able to carry out this kind of business in Belgrade unhindered and no one can do anything about it.

[BORBA] The SPS is claiming that you personally are "involved in rackets."

[Seselj] These are inventions. Have you heard about that? Such things cannot be concealed. That quickly becomes public knowledge.

[BORBA] Recently you have talked about too many details that are not favorable to the regime. Are you afraid for your life?

[Seselj] Well, anything is possible. However, if anything happens to me, no one will be able to remove suspicion from the ruling party and the regime. Is that not so?

The Possibility of a State of Emergency

[BORBA] Why did you change your strategy of being "careful with Milosevic" while tearing apart the Socialists?

[Seselj] His party has now been torn apart so now one should strike at him because, if his party is torn apart, Milosevic becomes especially dangerous because of the possible intention of imposing a state of emergency, establishing a personal dictatorship, preventing multi-party parliamentary elections, and using typical autocratic ways of acting. The logic is simple in this respect.

[BORBA] If you were in Slobodan Milosevic's place, what would you do today with Vojislav Seselj?

[Seselj] I would not make the mistakes that Milosevic has made. I would never dissolve the Assembly while the debate on confidence in the Government of Serbia was going on. What does it matter if one government falls? A real wider network of contacts is then formed with other parties and the formation of a coalition government is started. For example, the government of national unity, which was sought by some opposition parties, was salvation for Milosevic. He did not understand this because he has too much of an autocratic nature and phobic personality. He could have manipulated all the opposition parties that would have entered such a government....

If we were to win power, we would cut Milosevic's ties with the ministries, because the Internal Affairs Ministry, the head of state security, and the head of the public sector have no links with the prime minister, but only with Milosevic directly. If you cut that, he becomes a president of the republic in name only. Because of his personality, his position would be impossible if some other party were to form a government.

[BORBA] In the run up to the elections, the opposition is definitely not helped by the image of Milosevic as a "gentle negotiator" outside the country and his offensive on the domestic scene, the beginning of public works, the "pan-Serbian railroad"....

[Seselj] The works on this railroad line will be stopped immediately after the elections, because resources have not been provided for it. One can see how tendentious

this is by the geographical coordinates of this line, Bijeljina-Milosevac (?), it would be more normal for Bijeljina-Doboj. Second, he has not achieved any success in the diplomatic negotiations. He is now taking over my idea of a year and one half ago: There will be no negotiations while the sanctions are in place. He has even lost his way in foreign policy; he never grasped this foreign policy—they always deceived him, he was always tricked, they promised him all sorts of things and, from the beginning, he always allowed himself to be duped.

[BORBA] Would the world want to talk with our country if the radical national forces won?

[Seselj] Why not? Apart from that, it is impossible for any party to win a majority at these elections. It is only possible for the Socialists to form the next government with someone from the opposition or for the opposition parties to agree on the next government. I do not see a third option. It is essential here that the views of the DSS and the DS regarding national policy have become closer to those of the SRS. This is what makes Milosevic nervous....

[BORBA] Do you think that there is a possibility that the opposition parties will form a government?

[Seselj] This is a possibility that needs to be considered seriously. It would be pointless to talk about this until the elections results are known. This matter comes onto the agenda after the elections.

[BORBA] But the opposition gained at the last elections.

[Seselj] Yes, but, at that time, a large part of the opposition was still preoccupied with [former Federal Prime Minister] Milan Panic, the monarchy, and various stupidities, so that there was no one to talk to. On the other hand, we had to carry out that Assembly coup regarding the election of delegates to the Chamber of the Republics, even though we knew that we would provoke the anger of the other opposition parties. However, had we not done that, we would never have replaced [former Federal President Dobrica] Cosic. When we replaced Cosic, we could then discuss, with the other opposition parties, changing this law on the election of deputies to the Chamber of the Republics.

[BORBA] When you left prison before the 1990 elections, you said: "Milosevic will be next." Do you still say this?

[Seselj] Well, you see, this is getting closer. How will he justify his involvement with the speculations of "Dafiment Bank" and "Jugoskandik." All this was done with his knowledge and his agreement. His right-hand men stole the most money through these banks and even he himself.... How much money was sent to Cyprus to various international banks, to private accounts, and under private names? He is not far from ending up in prison.

[BORBA] Who are these "right-hand men"?

[Seselj] Radmilo Bogdanovic and Nikola Sainovic, who steals through the "ATI" firm by ensuring the firm is given favorable business at state expense—he receives a percentage of that.

[BORBA] Are you sorry for some serious things that you have said?

[Seselj] No.

[BORBA] Have you left anyone out? Is there anyone who you think you did not say enough to?

[Seselj] Yes, and they will hear from me.

[BORBA] Who?

[Seselj] Wait, you will see.

Never in a Coalition With the Socialists

[BORBA] What will you do if the election results are catastrophic for the SRS, as some people have been predicting?

[Seselj] I do not believe that that will happen. If it happens, the leadership will bear the responsibility. If the results are catastrophic then, of course, my resignation from the post of party president will follow, that is taken as read.

[BORBA] What will you involve yourself with if that happens? The impression is that you enjoy politics.

[Seselj] If I resign the position of party president that does not mean that I will stop being involved in politics. We in the SRS are not small children, like in other parties, so if someone cannot be in one post or another then he immediately leaves the party.

[BORBA] If you achieve relative success, so that you cannot form a government by yourselves, are you prepared to enter a coalition government?

[Seselj] We can discuss that after the elections when we see the results of all the parties, but never in a coalition with the Socialists. That is understood.

[BORBA] With which of the other three parties would you not enter a coalition?

[Seselj] We would not discount anything in advance, because if there have been changes in the policy of the DS and the DSS why would it be impossible for there to be changes in the policy of the SPO too? One should wait and see. Even in the SPO there are people with whom I am in contact and with whom I have an understanding regarding many issues.

[BORBA] How dangerous is the SRS for members of the ethnic minorities in Serbia?

[Seselj] It has never been dangerous, we have never endangered one single ethnic minority.

[BORBA] But investigations by institutions like "Helsinki Watch" say something different.

[Seselj] They have invented all sorts of things, even that I slaughtered 3,000 Croats and Muslims near Brcko. Leave that alone.

[BORBA] How would you react if Milosevic decides to deliver you to the international court for war crimes?

[Seselj] As far as I am concerned, I have nothing against it. I have not traveled abroad for a long time and it would be quite nice for them too. However, I do not believe that I could go there without Milosevic. He would have to come with me.

[BORBA] What will you promise to the voters before the elections?

[Seselj] We are promising the voters a lot of effort, a lot of endeavor, a lot of work, a lot of problems. However, the government that the SRS would set up, or in which it would take part, would definitely crush all corruption. This would be a government that would act honestly in line with the interests of its people and it would not allow state officials to get rich, as is the case now.

[BORBA] What would be your overall vision of the Serbia that you would lead?

[Seselj] Serbia would be a very developed country in the Balkans and would gather together all the Serbian provinces, the republic of Srpska, the RSK, and Montenegro. Serbia would develop as a country with a free market economy, with capitalist initiative in which private ownership would be sacred. Socially-owned property would be completely eliminated and only the necessary minimum would be in the hands of the state.

[BORBA] How would you settle relations with the West?

[Seselj] That is not so difficult. All states in the world are guided by principles of interest. Some common interests should also be found.

[BORBA] Is cooperation between the SRS and the SPO possible if you and Vuk Draskovic remain in leadership positions?

[Seselj] We have never been guided by personalities, but by the policy that is conducted by certain parties. In principle, personalities do not interest us. It is important that changes are made in the national policy of the SPO and then everything else can be discussed. Therefore, they should no longer demand that someone occupy the republic of Srpska, that cantons be created throughout Serbia, Kosovo, and Vojvodina, and other matters. If that party returns to the national policy that they started with in political life then anything is possible.

[BORBA] There is the idea that Draskovic and you are the greatest obstacles to the opposition joining together and acting more effectively.

[Seselj] Well, who has dealt more serious blows to the Serbian regime than the SRS? We have been the only ones to put that regime in a hopeless situation. No one was able to, before then. What kind of obstacle am I then? Was I an obstacle because I was not taken in by momentary stupidities and did not play into the hands of the government? Who dealt the most serious blow to the regime? Answer me that.

[BORBA] You said recently that you could see from Milosevic's interview on Television Serbia that he was shaken. What did you mean exactly?

[Seselj] He avoided answering the key questions, that was obvious. Some editors actually helped him by ineptly formulating their questions. It was especially important that he was insisting on a stable government after the elections. The fact that he hoped for the absolute superiority of one, his own, party, shows that he feels terribly threatened. He is not a stupid man, you know that he understands everything. He understands the situation that he is in, he just does not know how to take the right steps. He is like a chess player who has learned the theory well but does not have the corresponding inventiveness.

[BORBA] Has the issue of the Krajinas been finally settled? Some people think that the opposition has a chance in this respect.

[Seselj] It has not been completely finished, I fear betrayal from Belgrade. Such attempts have been made. However, if we remove the Socialists from power here then there will be no one to betray the Krajina.

[Box, p 10]

Mira Markovic—the Gray Eminence of the SPS

[BORBA] In the last few days you have, however, attacked Milosevic's wife more than the president himself.

[Seselj] His wife is the gray eminence of the SPS, very dangerous, much more dangerous than Milosevic, because she is the real center of power, because Milosevic did not have a lot of time to be involved with party politics, while she was very agile in this regard. Radmilo Bogdanovic is the other gray eminence. I have therefore directly hit at the two foundations of his power within the party.

Death Squads in Belgrade

[BORBA] You once said that once the government had decided to liquidate someone nothing could help him. Are these services [the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the SDB, and the Counter-Intelligence Service] really so powerful?

[Seselj] Well, who do you think carried out all those killings on the Belgrade streets? A death squad exists. I cannot identify it precisely, but this is a police or some parapolice service like the "KOMET" firm, which is

controlled by the SK-PJ, or the group surrounding Captain Dragan, which personally serves Radmilo Bogdanovic. Or Arkan's group, which has also been used by the police force and by Radmilo Bogdanovic. Do you know how Studio B's equipment was stolen? Bogdanovic sent people from the so-called group of Captain Dragan, whose name serves only to conceal a parapolice organization. They took the equipment the first time, and the second time, Captain Dragan's people protected this equipment from his own people.

[Box, p 11]

Kostunica and Djindjic Better and Better

[BORBA] Until recently, even though your party was an opposition party it had more normal relations with the party in power than with the other opposition parties. Why?

[Seselj] From the start, the opposition conducted the kind of national party that meant there could be no compromise in this respect. However, some interesting changes have happened this year in some opposition parties. For example, since May there has been a significant turnaround in the national policy of the DSS, which we immediately welcomed. After the latest cadre changes in the DS, Djindjic is also expressing some very good stands regarding national policy, so even here there is the possibility of cooperation and, with time, this cooperation will probably be realized. We have already had meetings with some parties regarding joint checks on the voting slips, equal representation in the media, refraining from attacks in the election campaign....

[Box, p 11]

Cooperation With the Police

[BORBA] Have you personally cooperated with the army and the police?

[Seselj] We cooperated regarding the issue of the war on the territory of the RSK and the republic of Srpska. We received weapons from them. We also received weapons from the army, but we received much more from the police than the army. Then, our volunteers fought in special police units from here under the command of Kertes in eastern Slavonia and on the territory of the republic of Srpska under the command of Radovan Stojcic Badza. Our people liberated all the areas around Srebrenica and encircled Srebrenica. We also fought on many battlefields with Franko Simatovic Frenki, head of the intelligence administration of the SDB of Serbia. All this was done through Ljubisa Petkovic, but they recruited him on the way. When our direct involvement in the war and activity in the special units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs stopped, Petkovic continued to work for them. I met these people in Knin, as well as in eastern Slavonia and the republic of Srpska....

[BORBA] Perhaps they were trying to recruit you before the SRS was set up?

[Seselj] No, at that time I had no contact with them whatsoever, apart from when they would occasionally arrest me and detain me for banned books, participation in public meetings, and so on. Our cooperation dates from the time immediately before the battle for Borovo Selo, when the first "Thompsons" came for Borovo Selo from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. When the Territorial Defense was dissolved, the Ministry of Internal Affairs took over all its archaic weapons, which explains the "Thompsons," the old carbines, and the Russian "spagini" [as published].

[Box, p 11]

Toppling Cosic

At the end of May, we blackmailed the Socialists into toppling Cosic for violating the Constitution. Our demand was made a long time before, but the Socialists rejected it because they had made use of Cosic immediately after the elections. He had humbly gone to Milosevic, smoothed over relations, and then Cosic carried out everything that Milosevic ordered. Cosic was nothing but an instrument in Milosevic's hands. However, he was dangerous for us: Imagine us today having both Milosevic and Cosic against us. Therefore Cosic had to go.... Milosevic was being evasive the whole time and I finally blackmailed him: If Cosic does not go, Sainovic will fall, and there was already the demand from Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] for a vote of no-confidence to be taken in Sainovic. Then, Milosevic gave in and they even fabricated some evidence against Cosic (the meeting with the generals) and this seems to have tipped the scales with them.

Macedonia

Transportation Minister Resigns Over Plane Crash

AU2211213493 Paris AFP in English 2021 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, Nov 22 (AFP)—Macedonian Transport Minister Antoni Pesev resigned Monday [22 November], two days after 115 people were killed when their plane crashed in southern Macedonia, an official statement said.

"Deeply shocked by the accident and as an expression of my sympathy to the families of the victims, I unconditionally hand in my resignation as minister of the Macedonian Government," Pesev was quoted as saying in the statement to the press.

The Macedonian Pilots' Association earlier Monday accused the government of being responsible for the "chaos in the Macedonian transport system."

"We have repeatedly stressed that the Transport Ministry is not doing its job properly," Kirju Kaevski, chairman of the association, said, adding that landing

equipment at airports in Skopje and Ohrid was "outdated and often out of order."

The crash of the Soviet-built Yak-42, operated by the Macedonian domestic airline Avio Impex, near Ohrid left only one survivor. The plane took off from Geneva and should have landed in the Macedonian capital. It was diverted to Ohrid because of fog.

Commentary Views Albanian Paramilitary Affair

AU2211162293 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 19 Nov 93 pp 10,11

[Commentary by Mirce Tomovski: "Time for Maturation"]

[Text] With "the attempt to create paramilitary units" or "an illegal organization opposed to the constitutional order," as expressed in the Interior Ministry's statement, Macedonia's modern political era acquired another chance to show its real colors. The internal political forces, the state, the democratic model, the coexistence, our neighbors, and even Mr. Stoltenberg, that is Geneva, have all reacted to this. [Prime Minister] Crvenkovski's government regained its confidence; the coalition partners tested their common interests; the state gained another experience. We have this "circus" behind us, part of the democracy that we are getting used to with all its impatience, so characteristic of the Balkan mentality. One story about the diplomatic manner of said Mr. Stoltenberg and his "expectations" may probably be in many ways paradigmatic for the whole "storm in a teacup."

After the news about the discovery of the "pan-Albanian Army", Stoltenberg urgently sent Gert Ahrens to Macedonia as "a principal observer" to the negotiations between the Macedonian Government and the minorities in Macedonia to inspect the situation at first hand. The main goal of Ahrens's "urgent mission" was for him to be personally convinced as to whether or not civil war had started in Macedonia. Ahrens ended his one night's personal inspection with a dispatch to Stoltenberg: "The situation is under control." Considering his assessment correct, Arens made no comment when he was told that his report was wrong. The explanation was "simple and straight forward"—nothing has happened or been changed in Macedonia "to have it put under control"; the state, like any other state, was just carrying out its duties.

Regardless of the aim that he had in "using" this event, it contained in itself some political implications. The attack on the whole of Macedonia and its sovereignty was a limit beyond which one could not go. There can be neither a dialogue nor a discussion, let alone tolerance, on that subject. The state, regardless of the current ruling political grouping, reacted in the only possible and efficient way. The seizure of the paramilitary units "in preparation" was a political act of high quality. Not because nine arrested Albanians were at stake. Paramilitary armies cannot stand either paranoia or political naivete. Their role in the history of former Yugoslavia is filled with tragedy. There are still permanent Croatian and Serbian paramilitary units; one cannot see the end of the Bosnian conflict, despite the constant "new initiatives" of the Owen-Stoltenberg duo. Therefore, the "depoliticization" of this event was, as a matter of fact, its greatest politization, in which the Interior Ministry, the government, and governing and opposition political parties took part. All in their own way, intentionally or not, skillfully or not. The media got involved in this whole "confusion," the public was "politicized," and everything happened in familiar Balkan style. It was also related to internal political immaturity and to the skill of "homo balkanicus." A lucid observation made by the Croatian writer Predrag Matvejevic in one of his intellectual lectures easily applies to both: "We believe that we are conquering the present, when we are not capable of governing the past!"

Ljubomir Frckovski, the top policeman in the republic, in his words, revealed this attempt to attack the constitutional order of the country. After that he "tried" to play down the importance of the event, to marginalize it. In doing this, he opened up a personal labyrinth of contradictions. He was joined by his colleagues in the government—three deputy chairmen commented on Macedonian Television. The first of them, Jovan Andonov, tried "to evade the issue" by saying he had been away, and was, therefore, not informed; the second, Bekir Zuta, assessed the event as an ordinary criminal act; the third, Risto Ivanov, gave it some political implications, but remained unclear in explaining his view. Here the statement of Defense Minister Vlado Popovski was inserted, but from outside the event and outside the state—from Turkey. All that, in a condensed period of time and in the political tension that had already been created, contributed to increasing suspicions as to the involvement of one of the coalition partners—the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], because the two government ministers [involved], Husein Haskaj and Imer Imeri, are members of this party; explanations about the functioning of the coalition were demanded, and bargaining on its maintenance, and it was all done on account of the Macedonian state!? The real, serious reasons for the state acting to protect itself were no longer accepted.

The PDP, that respected coalition partner, added more fuel to the fire by its attitude. In postponing the release of a party policy statement, and then missing the chance clearly to disassociate themselves from the extremists and to react from a civil, democratic position, it positioned itself below the level of the events and the political situation. Behind the formula "let us not dramatize things" it lacked a clear party stance that would have demonstrated loyalty to the state and the political milieu to which it belongs. To this political enigma it only offered formulations about a "vacuum in the citizens' security," "the self-organization and vigilance of citizens," and "insecurity on Macedonia's road to independence." The interpretation of such political vocabulary usually means lack of confidence and suspicion. As

some lawyers would say, "contradicio in adjecto" contributed to all that. How do we understand Muhamed Halili [the PDP President], between his accusation about this attack on the state that he lives in and belongs to, as stated in parliamentary discussions on confidence in the government, and his persistent stance against the admission of Macedonia as a full member of the CSCE? Is there any greater insecurity for everyone living in Macedonia than to be left outside the system of collective security in Europe? Or the clear message by Mersim Polozani—the promoter of "Ilirida" [an Albanian state within the Macedonian state]—that "the Albanians in Macedonia are not in favor of war." The inability to accept that the destabilization of the country and the state is the key element, and not whether it is the Albanians who are doing it or someone else, implies that they remain in a cosy embrace with their nation.

There is still time to mature to civil orientation. Room has been made within the PDP in the latest disputes within its leadership. Now it was the party's duty to explain all this to the Albanian population, who are not in favor of war and killing. On the contrary, the answer will be to the extremists, who offer "different means and methods" and who "have had enough of this."

The major opposition party in Macedonia, VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity], saw its chance during these events to attack the government coalition, and it was natural that it demanded a confidence vote. It is a part of its Macedonian national trait that it never gives up, but it also has difficulty in freeing itself from its stubbornness. It was from these positions that it attacked the government, particularly because two government officials were involved in the whole anti-state affair. However, the ferocity of the attack on the ruling party and the coalition were almost unreasonable. They were called "traitors" even though they were the ones who uncovered "the affair"; the PDP was put behind the paramilitary armies and arms smuggling; it was argued that the policy of coexistence as a formula had been a failure and that a change was necessary to a policy that "will set things right!" The adventure of the confidence vote followed, despite the fact that the balance of forces in parliament was well known. However, it was seen that with the passing of time the emotions belonged to the past.

On this occasion, too, it was demonstrated that the Macedonian political rumblings had "reanimated" the corpse of homo balkanicus. And Serbia, with the "prophecy" of Milosevic, had noted the danger from the Albanians and their "separatism" and "the secession of western Macedonia." That is why "brotherly help" was offered! Similar to the once upon a time speech made by Milosevic in the former Federal Assembly on the events in Kosovo, when [Kosovo Albanian Communist] Azem Vllasi was arrested, now the same thing "happened" with the attempt by the paramilitary armies in Macedonia. In view of the kind of "help" and "voluntary" joining of Macedonia to its "natural" place, the FRY, there was further evidence with the latest penetration into Macedonian territory in the well known Arkan style [reference to paramilitary leader Zeljko Raznjatovic].

In Bulgaria, similarly, with other similar positions regarding Macedonia, it was interpreted as a dangerous situation. Some time before these events, the Bulgarians announced that civil war was on the doorstep of Macedonia! And it means nothing else for our eastern neighbor than to be on the alert!

Without giving it too much thought, Greece said that "a civil war" was in sight (echoing to Papulias's Balkan tour, which was a fiasco even by internal Greek assessments). Tirana was accused of "arming the Albanians in Macedonia." The ruling circles in Greece hypocritically noted "the danger of spreading the war to the south", sticking further to their stance of not recognizing Macedonia!

Albania probably found itself in the most delicate situation. Even if it could deny direct involvement with the paramilitary armies, the arms smuggling still went through its territory. Serbia was accused of all this, "this is all the hand of Serbia," implying that the arms smuggling was done through Albanian channels by Serbian spies!? The parties and the establishment made accusations of "violence against the Albanians in Macedonia." However, a statement given by the Democratic Party, along with this accusation, also attacked "adventurers among the Albanians in Macedonia," who are creating phantoms like "Ilirida" on account of others, calling the Albanians "a factor for peace and stability in the Balkans!" Maybe just a small nuance, but not without sense! Kosovo leader [Ibrahim] Rugova was also balancing on a similar thesis—"the event was fabricated with the purpose of compromising the Albanians in Macedonia." According to him, it was concocted in a Serbian kitchen!?

As in other similar situations, the famous Balkan rule about the real truth did not pass by the events. The rule that there are no rules in this region was confirmed. However, we make part of this mentality and we can read the political enigmas and cope with the diplomatic riddles. Despite a lot of kettledrums, we did what we wanted to do, we kept our distance from all around us, no matter how much some like or dislike us. Also a great desire was shown for a "civil war" in Macedonia. Even Geneva was "concerned" about that.

The infiltration of the paramilitary units into Macedonia would, after all, serve as a good introduction to the proposed Yugo-plan of [Conference on Yugoslavia Cochairmen] Owen and Stoltenberg, or as a plea to give it the treatment of a failed Balkan conference! Therefore, it was not necessary to minimize the value of the state action, because the very act of paramilitary armies and arms had a clear political weight for the IMF, for the CSCE, and for the U.S.

Macedonia passed another test. The time of maturity is coming to the Macedonian political milieu. The

boundary between the state and democracy, between reaching a political goal and using arms is becoming more remarkable. As for those from the outside, despite all their wishes—no civil war took place in Macedonia.

[Box, p 11]

The "Destinations" of Imer Imeri

Probably the public's greatest confusion about the personalities involved in the Albanian paramilitary army was caused by Imer Imeri, deputy health minister. A representative of the Party for Democratic Prosperity in the government, he disappeared just after the other actors in the event had been arrested.

Bearing in mind his office, journalists started looking for Deputy Minister Imeri. PULS said that he had asked for asylum in the Turkish Embassy, in the German Consulate, and in the office of the CSCE, but, as could be expected, this was denied. According to the latest information published in NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Imeri has found refuge in Switzerland. If the Interior Ministry goes on behaving "without interest" in this high government official, we can expect fresh speculation about his new destination.

Imeri was born in the village of Cegrane, near Gostivar, on 24 February 1942. He was a teacher between 1961 and 1968. After that, he went to Pristina, where he graduated from the Medical Faculty in just three years. He was sentenced to nine years in prison because of his participation in the Albanian demonstration in Tetovo in 1968.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Views Interpretation of History

AU2211144293 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 93 p 1,2

[Speech by Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Regional Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Montenegro and Boka in Podgorica on 15 November 1993: "An Important Date"]

[Text] Podgorica, 15 November—The 50th anniversary of the Regional Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation (ZAVNO) of Montenegro and Boka was celebrated at the Villa Gorica in Podgorica today. The Council was founded in Kolasin on 5 November 1943. In the presence of some of the members of the first revolutionary parliament of liberated Montenegro, as well as of the prime minister and the chairman of the present Montenegrin Parliament and representatives of several political parties and other respected personalities from the Montenegrin political and cultural life, Momir Bulatovic, the president of Montenegro, spoke about this important date in the history of Montenegro.

"This is an event of powerful anti-fascist and liberating character, which expressed the dominant wish of the Montengrin people to become integrated into the Yugoslav federation as one of its equal members. It was a clear and unambiguous confirmation of the identity of Montenegro."

"As far as the recently completed communist era is concerned, the future will make a much better judgment about it than we. The future generations will be able to use a more precise scale and will not repeat the mistakes made by the people they blame, because they will observe these things from the distance of time; they will not be burdened by the past and led by pragmatic political interests, as this is often the case in our political reality. Many of us who declare themselves as anti-communists, who identify the communism with the absolute evil, act in exactly the same way and apply exactly the same methods they condemn, which the former and the present communists in Montenegro have given up. The creation of polarizations according to national, religious and ideological principles, means that they deny everything which does not correspond to their interests, which is nothing else but the revival of the logic: 'Everyone who is not with me is against me.'"

"Is not the attempt to deny the value of everything that belongs to the past, only because the communists do not rule any longer, a typical Stalinist relation toward history and truth, according to which everything which is not politically useful simply does not have to exist? Those who want to say that partisans were traitors, and chetniks soldiers for freedom and real patriots, will have to rehabilitate the German Nazis and Italian Fascists first. Not with the aim to make their grandchildren suffer today because of the fact that their grandfathers were on the wrong side, but because the truth and the past cannot depend on someone's wish and the present relation between the political powers," Bulatovic said.

Milo Markovic remarked that two famous partisan brigades were also established on that day—the 6th and the 7th "Budo Tomovic" Youth Brigade.

One of the members of the first revolutionary parliament in the liberated Montenegro, Obren Blagojevic, evoked memories of the days when the Montenegrin state was being established. He recalled that the ZAVNO members were elected according to their morale and loyalty to the people, although it was established during wartime. ZAVNO was based on the principles of democracy and religious and national equity. Blagojevic said that ZAVNO was one of the important elements in the creation of the Montenegrin state. He added that Montenegro used to be highly regarded in the world although it was a small country, not only because of the heroism of its people, but also because of its cultural heritage.

The delegations of soldiers and political parties of Montenegro laid a wreath on the graves of Ivan Milutinovic and Blaz Jovanovic.

[Bulatovic] "The ZAVNO establishing assembly was held in Kolasin fifty years ago. This meeting was preceded and followed by important events and decisions, which made it an integral part of the process of establishing a new system in the former Yugoslavia. It enabled the renewal of the national emancipation of Montenegro. Half of a century is a good time distance and a good occasion to remember the political and historical circumstances under which the ZAVNO of Montenegro and Boka was established, and to try to find out the connection between this event and the present political reality.

The spirit of Yugoslavia was not only deeply rooted in Montengero, it arouse from this territory. Out of the century-long struggle for our own and the freedom of the peoples similar to us, from the heroic, kind and tragic nature arouse the long cherished idea to establish a joint state of all Yugoslav peoples. The reality of this state, the first Yugoslavia, was far from the reality the Yugoslav peoples dreamed about. It was created after World War I according to the wishes and interests of the victor states. On the one hand, it corresponded to the sincere wish of some Yugoslav peoples to live in one state, but on the other hand, there were also some Yugoslav peoples that decided to join the first Yugoslav federation because they concluded that it was better to be on the side of the winners. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was born with a defect. Two old Balkan states, Montenegro and Serbia invested their independence into it, but they got little or nothing in return. Montenegro lost even more than Serbia because its dynasty and political circumstances caused the disintegration of its regular army and the consequent capitulation. It was an army that bravely covered the retreat of the Serbian army, which later returned as the winner over a several times stronger enemy.

The New System Was a Necessity

At the beginning of World War II the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was in a state of total disintegration. This young state with a still not clearly defined profile and torn apart by interior struggles, was not resistant to attacks against its integrity. Despite the huge resistance of Montenegro and Serbia, its leadership made a treaty with fascist Germany on the eve of World War II. The then Yugoslav government fled the country and was active from abroad, there was chaos among the people and the army was in a state of disintegration. This Balkan country, which could have been powerful, since all of its constituent nationalities had successfully fought against international military powers for centuries, was occupied in only 12 days, without having shown any serious resistance. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which came into existence in 1918 and became the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, was defeated and humiliated, occupied and torn apart; it ceased to exist as a state.

The aim of the national liberation war was therefore not only the achievement of freedom, but also the creation of a new system, that is to say the creation of elementary law and order. The leadership of national liberation war was aware of this fact and created its committees in each of the liberated territories.

ZAVNO—the Freely Expressed Will of the People

As time passed the military power grew bigger as did the liberated territories, so that it became necessary to elect a leadership. That is why the preparations for the foundation of the ZAVNO of Montenegro and Boka were made already during 1943.

In its documents ZAVNO defined the character of the national liberation war as an anti-fascist war, it praised the national liberation army as a military power fighting for freedom, and stated that AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] was the only political representative of all Yugoslav peoples and their only political leadership in foreign and domestic affairs. ZAVNO also expressed its wish for a life in a community with other Yugoslav peoples, in a democratic federative state, in which each of its constituent peoples would have the right to decide on its destiny. Based on that, the Yugoslav government abroad was deprived of its powers to represent the people of Montenegro and Boka. This freely expressed will of the Montenegrin people found its institutional support in ZAVNO which was elected by its establishing assembly as the supreme political body of the national liberation war. Its role was "to pass its decisions concerning the existence of other Yugoslav peoples by consent of AVNOJ." All this clearly speaks in favor of the fact that a new political system was established in Montenegro.

Fifty years later, the real political and legal sense and character of these decisions and their implications are still not clear. History still has no answer to these questions, as this is very often the case with political issues. That is why there are various interpretations of this event, as there are of many other issues in our political history; they are adapted to the respective political needs and serve as the basis for various statements, programs and requirements. All extremes in our political life are explained and justified by history, the arbitrary interpretations of which are taken for granted.

Regardless of all dilemmas, we think that we have to celebrate the anniversary of ZAVNO of Montenegro and Boka.

It was doubtlessly an event of powerful antifascist and liberation character. It expressed the dominant wish of the Montenegrin people to become integrated into the Yugoslav federation as one of its equal members. It was a clear and unambiguous confirmation of the national identity of Montenegro. That is why we are celebrating this event. As far as the recently completed period of communism is concerned, the future will make a better judgment about it than we. The future generations will be able to use a more precise scale and will not repeat the mistakes made by the people they blame, because they

will observe these things from the distance of time; they will not be burdened by the past and led by pragmatic political interests.

We Have To Respect Soldiers Who Fought for Freedom

This is very seldom the case nowadays. Many people who declare themselves as anticommunists and who identify the communist period with absolute evil, create relations and try to materialize political interests by applying the same methods they verbally condemn, which the communists of Montenegro have already given up. The creation of polarizations according to national, religions and ideological criteria means that they deny everything that does not correspond to their interests, which is nothing else but the revival of the logic: "Everyone who is not with me is against me."

Is not the attempt to deny the value of everything that belonged to the past, only because the communists do not rule any longer, a typical Stalinist relation toward history and truth, according to which everything that is not politically useful simply does not have to exist? Those who want to say that partisans were traitors, and Chetniks soldiers for freedom and real patriots, will have to rehabilitate German Nazis and Italian Fascists first. Not with the aim of making their grandchildren suffer because their grandfathers were on the wrong side, but because the truth and the past cannot depend on someone's wish and the present circumstance of political relations.

Today we are evoking the time in which the decisions for the benefit of Montenegro and in the interest of its people were passed. The participants in these events was a generation that sought the way that leads to the good, the better, progress. In a chain every link is important and valuable. The chain of life was probably nowhere so difficult to keep as in Montenegro. That is why we respect those of our ancestors who fought for this sacred aim, for the freedom and a better life for their descendants. We are proud of the peace that has lasted for half of the century and we shall remember the victims who fell for it, trying to offer peace, freedom and prosperity also to this generation and the generations to come.

[Box, p 2]

Science and Politics

Political history is one of the vaguest chapters in our history. There was a prolonged period of totalitarian regime. Apart from that, there was also a long period of wars of survival, which made Montenegro a country that has more soldiers than scientists, serious researches, cultural and scientific institutions which enable objective scientific work. If the scientifically relevant facts are scarce, if the facts about the recent past—about the events that are very often not older than 100 years—have to be looked up in works of literature, or in the private letters of a ruler—this must have practical and political consequences also for present reality and relations. The past is a time as difficult and confused as the present in which the answers to present and future dilemmas are sought and it becomes adaptable to the needs and motives of daily politics.

[Box, p 2]

Realism and Wisdom

Although there are dilemmas and confusions, although the knowledge and intellect are frail, and although all truths and values are relative, it can still be stated with pleasure that the people of Montenegro, despite the fact that they are very fond of their history, have the necessary measure of wisdom to comprehend history not as their master but as a teacher. This is the result of wide experience and wisdom. We must be aware of the fact that the continuation of life is eternal. It is necessary to continuously take new sections, none of which is final or the same as the previous one.

[Box, p 2]

Logic of the Future

Probably for the first time in its existence, Montenegro has preserved peace at a time of great international instability in political relations, even though there is a war in its vicinity. The relations among the people of various religions and nationalities, of various political views in a just established multiparty democracy, their readiness to preserve the traditional values and to take the injustice with dignity—all this is evidence that our citizens think with the logic of the future. They have learned the lesson of history that we can be our own greatest enemies if we give up the values that enabled us to survive through centuries. The only possibility we have is the democratic and peaceful approach in the search for our aims. We are creating a democratic state now, which is capable of successfully protecting and respecting the interests and rights of our citizens. Our country must able to stay out of the challenges and be a positive factor in the struggle for political power, which must be the result of the free will of the citizens of Montenegro.

Because of these values we are evoking the memories of those who laid the foundation of our state. They had noble ideas and aims, and the courage sincerely to fight for them.

Kosovo

Albanians Protest Serb Attitude Toward Crash

AU2211214793 Paris AFP in English 2038 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Nov 22 (AFP)—Hundreds of relatives headed Monday [22 November] from this Serb province [of Kosovo] for the Macedonian town of Ohrid to identify and recover victims of an aircrash which killed 115 people over the weekend.

Critics meanwhile condemned Serbian authorities in the mostly Albanian-populated Kosovo province for not doing enough to help the families bereaved by the crash. Serbian media in this southern Serbian province barely reported the crash Saturday night. The Serb-language daily JEDINSTVO gave the story a brief back page report Monday.

Only one person survived the crash on a mountainside five kilometers (three miles) from Ohrid Saturday night. Most of those killed in the crash were ethnic Albanians from Kosovo. Buses full of mourners left the Kosovo capital Monday bound for Ohrid.

Critics said local Serbian authorities in Kosovo, who suspended its autonomy three years ago, had not offered their condolences for the accident, nor offered to help bereaved families. Border guards made no exceptions to allow relatives to cross the border into Macedonia en route for Ohrid, Albanian sources said.

Fehmi Agani, the deputy leader of the main Albanian party in Kosovo, the Kosovo Democratic League, called on travel companies ferrying the relatives "to worry about human lives before their profits."

Vojvodina

Serbs Blame Hungarians for Resettlement Problems

LD2311093693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] Zoltan Dany reports from Novi Sad on the dispute about the resettlement of Serbian refugees in Vojvodina.

[Dany] The speaker of the Vojvodina Assembly and the Serbian commissioner for refugees are accusing certain villages in North Backa—Senta and Kanjiza—of deporting refugees by using local decrees, or not permitting the reception of new ones. During the Vojvodina negotiations with Vojvodina Assembly Speaker Milutin Stojkovic and [Commissioner] Ujovic, it was emphasized that by doing so these cities and villages were breaking Serbian law, which cannot be permitted. According to the chairman of the parliament, those settlements are involved where the VMDK [Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina] hold the majority in the local council and some of the councillors behave as if they have their own state.

The mayors of the cities in question already stated before that the cities are economically exhausted and cannot even decently look after the refugees already there, nor can they help the local poor. Currently 490,000 refugees are registered in Serbia.